

A
MEMORIAL
OF THE
REFORMATION,
(Chiefly in ENGLAND)
AND OF
Britain's DELIVERANCES
FROM
Popery and Arbitrary Power,

Since that Time, to the Year, 1716.

Wherein is Contained, Some Account of the Apostasy
of the CHURCH in its Rise and Progress, till PO-
PERY was Established in the World.

THE State of the *Reformation* under King *HENRY* the Eighth, *EDWARD* the Sixth, and Queen *ELIZABETH*: With the Principles and Endeavours of those that have from Time to Time stood for a further *Reformation*; as a short History of NONCONFORMITY.

A Particular Relation of all the Plots and Conspiracies of *Papists* and others against the *Reformation*, and Civil Liberties of the LAND. Some short *Memoirs* of the CIVIL WAR in King *CHARLES* the First's Time; And a distinct Answer to the Question, *Who Cut off the KING's HEAD?*

I SAM. vii. 12.

Then Samuel took a Stone, and set it between Mizpeh and Shen, and called the Name thereof Eben-Ezer, saying, Hitherto hath the Lord helped us.

By BENJAMIN BENNET.

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MDCCLXVIII.

MEMORIAL
 OF THE
 REV. JOHN W. FOWLER
 (1812-1885)
 BISHOP OF DURHAM
 1885



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T H E
P R E F A C E.

‘I DO not apprehend myself much concerned to apologize for this Undertaking, and, by liberal Professions of good Intention, endeavour to bespeak the Reader’s Favour. Two Things are necessary to gain it Acceptance with him, the Value and Suitableness of the Work itself, and the Candour of his Temper: If either of these be wanting, an Apology is useless; if neither, it is needless.’

‘I am sensible, what is here done, must not pretend to pass for an exact History, it is rather a Miscellany of Things; but it must be my Excuse, that it was begun without any Plan for such a Volume, and was to consist only of a few Sheets, to introduce a Sermon preached on King GEORGE’S *Coronation-day*, connecting former with later Deliverances, (the Subject of that Discourse). The Sermon was transcribed, more than a Year and half ago, as was the greatest Part of these Papers; and tho’ the former is suppress’d, as being now quite out of Date, the later venture abroad into the World, in Hope they may in some Measure serve the Interest of the Christian *reformed Religion*; and, if they be blessed to this Purpose, I have my

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End, and shall less regard any Imputation of Presumption, Rashness, &c. or the Severity of the Criticks Eye.'

'The Account of the *Reformation* was at first much larger, but it was thought fit to contract it, to make room for some other Things, not less agreeable to the Design of this Work; which is not so much to give an History of the *Reformation* itself, as of Providence in beginning and defending it, and this not for the Use of the Learned and Curious, but the more common Readers, that have not Access to larger Volumes, nor Leisure to peruse them. And if nothing else, the Variety of the Matter, greater than is ordinarily to be found in such a Compass, may, I hope, afford Entertainment.'

'I have been somewhat particular in the Narrative of the *Conspiracies* and *Plots*, &c. have endeavoured to lead the Reader back, and set him upon the Precipice, where we have so often been, letting him see the Destruction that has, from Time to Time, hovered over our Heads, and how seasonably God has interposed, and become our Salvation. The History of these Things, I have carried down through the several Reigns since the *Reformation*, to the late horrid infamous *Rebellion*; which, it may be, some may think, I have past over too slightly; but as much is said as seemed necessary, and all that my Limits would well admit. Larger Histories will, I doubt not, record these Transactions more fully and minutely, and by reproaching this stupid ungrateful Age, give warning to Posterity.'

'I know but one Thing that can with any Colour be alledged against the professed Design of this Memorial, (which is to display the divine Providence, in our national Deliverances, and invite to Gratitude) viz. That what

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we call national Deliverances, are some of them national Rebellions. We have cast off, say they, our Allegiance to our natural, rightful, hereditary Princes, have resisted the Powers set over us by God, so that there is too much of Guilt in† those Deliverances, Revolutions and Settlements, to be a fit Matter of Thanksgiving. They should be remembred with Tears and Repentance, instead of being celebrated with Panegyricks and Ebenezers.*

* But as the Notion upon which this Objection is grounded, (*viz.* the indefeazible Right of Kings, Non-Resistance, &c.) has been sufficiently baffled many a Time, and one would think exposed to Contempt; so the Law of the Land has now superseded it, it is dead both in Law and Reason, and really can bind no Man's Conscience, (except as Error binds it) any more than *Mahomet's* Rules concerning Abstinence, or the *Pope's* Bull, on *Maunday Thursday*?

There is indeed so much of Judgment in this Doctrine, it falls so heavy on Mankind, leaves them in such deplorable Circumstances, that was there Truth in it, I should have expected to have found it at the Beginning of the Bible, and that when the Death threatned our first Parents, came to be branched out into some of its Particulars, (*viz.* the Sorrow of the Woman in Child-bearing, her more uneasy Subjection to her Husband, the Barrenness of the Earth, the Toil and Labour of Man, his Return to Dust at last) there should have been an express Mention of this as the worst Ingredient in that Death,

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† A certain Author speaking of the Revolution, and its being applauded as a Deliverance from Misery and Slavery, says, Upon Consideration it may appear to be in Truth nothing else, but a Deliverance, as this means, a setting us loose from all Restraints of Conscience and Honour.

(with respect to temporal Concerns) viz. *That Mankind should be given up to the Will and Lusts of Tyrants*, but as we find nothing of this there, we have Reason to think the gracious Governor of the World, has not doomed us so low, laid us in such Chains. He that promised to *break the Serpent's Head*, and deliver us from the Tyranny of Satan, has not subjected us to the Tyranny of those of our own Species, reserving us no Remedy, but Prayers and Tears.'

'But it is objected that the Apostle (*Rom. xiii.*) requires absolute Subjection to higher Powers, and threatens Damnation to those that resist even Tyrants, such as *Nero* and *Claudius*, who were the Powers (one of them) actually reigning, when he wrote his Epistle. And, says the Apostle of those Powers, that *they are ordained of God, and those that resist them shall receive Damnation.*'

'But if the Objector will please to read the Context, and impartially consider it, the Objection will vanish, and leave him whether he will or not: It is evident even to a Demonstration, that, as the Apostle does not here appoint any particular Form of Government, so he says nothing of particular present Governors, only recommends Subjection to Governors in general, and that from the Consideration of the divine Institution of their Office, and the Benefit of it to Mankind, when duly administered. To resist such Governors as answer the End of their Office, and the Apostle's Representation, is no doubt a very great Fault and deserves a proportionable Punishment, *κρίμα*, both here and hereafter. But the resisting of Tyrants, falls not under the Apostle's Sentence; this Text says nothing to the Case of Tyrants, but really excludes them, as being another Sort of Creatures, from what he describes,

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scribes, and the very Reverse of that Character, he gives the Ministers of GOD, to whom he requires Subjection.

‘ To put this Matter beyond all Doubt, let us suppose *Nero* here meant, as the Objector would have it, and try how finely the Text runs, when thus applied.’

I enjoin that every Soul (Christians as well as others) be subject to the higher Powers, for the Powers that at present be, are ordained of God. Nero particularly (now at the Head of the Roman Empire) is so, and whoever resists him, shall receive Damnation, for he is not a Terror to good Works, (discouraging and persecuting good Men) only to Evil. Do well, and you have nothing to fear from Nero, for he is the Minister of God for Good, a Revenger to execute Wrath upon Evil-doers; so that it is your Duty to be subject to him, (Nero) not only from Fear of Punishment, but from Conscience, and the Fear of GOD. You ought to support him in all his Power and Dignity, (which he so well employs) paying him such Tribute as he demands, and as is due to him; for he is GOD’s Minister, continually attending on this very Thing, vigilantly discharging the Duty of his Office, protecting all his Subjects, restraining the Injurious, defending the Innocent, in every Way promoting the Good of the Community.

‘ This must be the Apostle’s Sense, or else the Objection is Nonsense, and I leave it to every impartial Person, to consider how injurious it must be to an inspired Apostle, to make him talk at this Rate. What an Idea must it give the World of Christianity? What would the *Romans* particularly (who had so noble a Sense of Liberty) have thought of the Christian Religion, when they heard one of the chief Propagators of it, had so

zealously espoused the Cause of Slavery, and obliged all, on Pain of Damnation, to be subject even to their *Nero*, whom the Senate had condemned as a publick Enemy, and the People hated as a Tyrant? But I shall not stand further to combat such a Shadow, which indeed I would not have troubled this Preface with, but that some who would be thought zealous *Protestants* make it a Matter of Conscience, and lay so great a Stress upon it, as not only to undervalue the most eminent publick Favours of Providence, but to sacrifice their Religion, Liberty and All, for the Sake of it.

‘ The Design of these Papers has been already hinted, and is sufficiently evident, *viz.* to celebrate Providence in our national Deliverances, among which that grand Deliverance from Popery, the retrieving the Christian Religion almost lost, in the Ignorance and Corruption of the *Romish* Church, deserves a special Notice. It is the most eminent Salvation that God has wrought for us, to which all the rest are subordinate, and which, next to our Redemption by the Son of GOD, challenges our loudest Praises; and yet, when the present State of the *Reformation* and Protestant Religion as profest among us is considered, methinks we find an Allay in our Joy, and too just Cause for the same Mixture of Affection, that was expressed when the Foundation of the second Temple was laid, some shouted aloud for Joy, and others wept with a loud Voice, so that the People could not discern the Shout of Joy for the Noise of Weeping. We ought to rejoice, abundantly rejoice, (he deserves not the Name of a Christian, a *Briton*, that does not) when we consider the Blessings, which, by Wonders of Providence, have been secured to us, and yet we want not Cause of Lamentation,

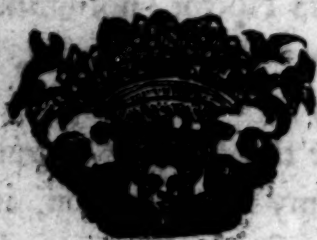
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mentation. We have had the Bible in our own Language, Preachers encouraged to inculcate the Doctrine of the Gospel, for near Two hundred Years, but with how little Effect! how gross our Ignorance, how depraved our Manners, how little of Christianity in a Christian Nation! all serious Persons are sensible of this, and some have not been wanting to complain of it in suitable Terms. *It cannot be denied (says a great Man of the established Church, and a hearty Friend of the Reformation) that universally the whole Nation is corrupted, and that the Gospel has not had those Effects among us, that might have been expected, after so long and free a Course as it has had in this Island.* That it has not, is sadly evident. He that doubts of this, either knows not what Christianity is, or knows not what we are; a View of the State of Religion, as it now stands in many of the Parishes of England, especially in Country Places, would afford but a melancholly Entertainment, to a serious Mind, and indeed be enough to give him an Horror, not unlike that, which Daniel had in his Vision, when he fainted, and was sick certain Days.

‘ But I shall not take the Liberty to pursue this Subject, tho’, according to my first Intention, it was to have been the main Errand of this Preface. I purposed to have hinted at the chief Defects of the *Reformation*, to have suggested what seems most wanting to strengthen and perfect it, to have touched upon the most notorious Instances of our Corruption and Apostasy, and upon the necessary Means for the Recovery of *real Religion*, every where languishing and dying, in the *Protestant Churches*; but, not knowing how any great Freedom here might be interpreted, I shall forbear, and leave these

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these Things to such as may say them with more Advantage, and to the inward Resentments of such as sigh for the Abominations done in the Midst of us, and whose Souls weep in secret Places: In the mean Time, hoping and praying, that a gracious GOD, who has watched over the *Reformation* so long, and with so tender a Care, that has so often rescued it from the Jaws of Destruction, and plucked it as a Brand out of the Burning, will not after all give us up; but that at length the Sun of Righteousness shall arise upon the *reformed* Churches, more fully with healing in his Wings; that he will not contend with us for ever, and draw out his Anger to all Generations, but revive us again, that Glory may dwell in our Land.



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A
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Britain's Deliverances, &c.



THE happy Settlement of these Nations (after so many and just Fears of a **POPISH PRE-TENDER**) under his Majesty King *GEORGE*, a Protestant Prince, and a known Patron of the Rights of Mankind, is so *eminent a Mercy*, consider it in all its Circumstances, that I cannot but think it challenges a very special Regard. The Design of this *Essay*, is to illustrate that Providence that herein we adore: And that I may do it with more Advantage, I shall look a little back, and touch upon some Things of earlier Date.

About two Centuries ago, it pleased God to restore to these Nations their Sight and Feeling; to deliver us from the oppressive Yoke of the *Papacy*, a Yoke that neither we, nor our Fathers were able to bear; which I take to be one of the most glorious Acts of that Providence towards us, which seems to delight in showing us

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Favour, and distinguishing us from our Neighbours round about. Ever since this memorable Period, our Enemies *have attempted* with a restless Malice again to enslave us. History is full of their *Plots* and *Conspiracies*, their Insurrections and Invasions. They have left no Stone unturned, no Method unessayed, whether of Fraud or Force, by which they might accomplish their Designs, and bring us back into Bondage.

My Business here will be to give the Reader a brief View of these Practices; to represent to him the many Engines that have been used to destroy us; and the many kind Appearances of our God to save us: In doing which, I would humbly desire to erect a Monument to the Honour of our Great Deliverer; and tho' I do not pretend with the Art of an *Aboliah* or *Bezaleel*, to carve curious Work; however, I would endeavour in the best Manner I can, to pay a small Tribute of Praise, and set up an *EBENEZER* with this Inscription, *Hitherto the Lord hath helped us.*

I am sensible it would be of some Advantage to this Work, could I take a Survey of *Popery*, and represent to the Reader the true State of the Christian Religion, before the *Reformation*. This would tend very much to recommend the Providence I am to describe. *Popery* is really the greatest Plague that can befall a People; worse than Sword, Famine, and Pestilence: Were these offered to our Choice, (as they were once to *David*) in Competition to *Popery*, we should with Reason submit to any of them, (if we understand what *Popery* is) rather than see our dear Country again deluged in the *Filth* and *Abominations* of *Rome*.

But

But I cannot pretend in the present Discourse, to handle this Subject, and therefore must refer the Reader to such Treatises where it is designedly done already. I shall not however wholly pass it over; but shall, the better to introduce what I intend, say something, tho' very briefly, touching the Corruption of Religion, under the *Papacy*: Show how the Defection began, and how it advanced, till *Popery* was settled in the World.

I scarce need tell any one that is called a *Pro-* The Scrip-
testant, and deserves that Name, that the Chri- ture the
 stian Religion is entirely contained in the Writings only Rule
 of the Old and New Testament; here is the of Faith.
 Canon, the Rule, the *only Rule* of Faith and
 Practice: *We are* † *built upon the Foundation* † Eph. 2:
of the Apostles and Prophets; other Foundations 20.
can no Man lay; should even an Angel from
Heaven endeavour herein to unsettle us, † and † Gal. 1:
 preach another Gospel, we pronounce him ac- 8.
cursed: And as the Christian and Protestant Re-
 ligion are one, (the latter being but a Revival of,
 or Return to the former) so they must necessarily
 have the same Foundation.

This is the *Rule*, the complete and the only
 Rule to Christians, to Protestants, containing all
 Things necessary to be believed and practised;
 the Judge of Controversies; the Standard to
 which we must appeal in our Disputes about Ar-
 ticles of Faith; and by which our Doctrine must
 be measured.

I add, As the Scripture is the Rule, so every
 Man must judge of its Meaning for himself, (ta-
 king in all the Help he can, both divine and hu-
 man) otherwise it would be no Rule to him:
 And I stick not to say, This is the grand Article
 of *Protestantism*, which we can never forsake
 without giving up our Cause, and falling back

again into all the Absurdities of implicate Faith and blind Obedience.

This I think demonstrable, that if we set up any Men, or Order of Men, as the *authoritative Expositors* of Scripture, so as to depend wholly on them, for its Sense, and acquiesce, without Inquiry, in their Determinations; we hereby absolutely deliver ourselves into their Power; we make them *Lords of our Faith*; and indeed make the Scripture more the Word of Men, than the Word of God.

It was the Mistake of the *Jews* in this Particular, that ruined both them and their Religion. Their Doctors had raised their Power to an extravagant Height, as is implied in the Advice of *Gamaliel*; 'That the Ignorant should get themselves Rabbies, that they might no longer doubt any thing.' In short, they set up for a Kind of Infallibility, and assumed to themselves a *Dictator's* Power in Religion: To them it belonged to give the Sense of the Law, (*i. e.* to put what Sense they pleased upon it) nor were the People at Liberty to differ from them, or to believe otherwise than they taught them. He that teaches any Thing (and for the same Reason, that believes any Thing) he has not heard from his *Rabbi*, provokes the Divine Majesty to de-

* Rab. E. part from *Israel*, says one of their Guides *.

lia. *Vide*
Dr. *Whitby*
on *Matth.*

23. 8.

And hence probably it was, that their Glosses upon the Law, and Resolutions of Cases of Conscience, were called *Loosing and Binding*; the Phrase generally used in the *Talmud*: When they declared this or that lawful, they *loosed*, *i. e.* you had your Liberty to do it: When it seemed otherwise to their Wisdom, and they thought fit to declare it unlawful, then they *bound*, *i. e.* tied you up, and laid you under Restraint: And this they did, in a thousand Instances, when there

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there was no other Reason for it, but their own Caprice and Humour.

What Sense our Lord had of the Encroachments of these Doctors, and what Care he has taken, to prevent every Thing of this Nature, in his Church for the future, may be learned from that Caution; *Be not ye therefore called Rabbi, for one is your Master, even Christ; and all ye are Brethren; and call no Man Father upon Earth, &c.* He won't allow in his Church any such Rabbi's as these, with Authority in Matters of Faith. Christ is the great Prophet, *whom we are to hear in all Things; he is our Master in Heaven,* whose Dictates are a Law to us, and must be received without disputing them: But if others teach us any Thing, we are to call them to the common Standard, and try them by the *written Word*, and not blindly submit to their Authority, thereby pinning our Faith on their Sleeve.

But does not Christ say of these very Men (the Scribes and Pharisees) *that they sit in Moses's Seat,* and that *whatever* they bid us observe, that we must observe and do? But surely this must not be supposed to signify that an implicate Obedience was due to them; for if so, how came Christ himself to contradict them, and to caution his Followers, to beware of their Leaven, (*i. e.* their Doctrine?) How comes he to call them *Blind Leaders* of the Blind, and censure them as making void the Commandments of God, by their Traditions? Nay, further, if they were to be obeyed *in all Things*, the People sinned not even in crucifying the Son of God, persecuting and murdering his Followers; for this was according to the Command of these Expositors of the Law, the Doctors that sat in *Moses his Chair*: So that the *all Things* what-

soever, (as Dr. *Whitby* observes from *Theophilact.*) must mean no more than this, *That whatever they required from the Books of Moses, or the Law of God, they must observe and do*; so that the Consequence is plain, that they were not to follow them blindfold; but must try their Doctrine, and compare it with the Law, that they might know whether to receive or reject it.

The Canon of the Scripture is not only enlarged to us Christians, but it is finished and sealed up, and must remain the *only Rule*, without Addition, Diminution, or being subject to Alteration for ever, by a less Power than that which at first gave it.

Nor are there any Rabbies left on Earth, with the Authority of binding and loosing, further than they can prove Christ and his Apostles have bound and loosed, and what they offer for this Purpose, every one is to judge of, otherwise he does not behave as a reasonable Creature, much less a Disciple of the Lord Jesus.

The Fathers of the three first Centuries are not our Rule, nor authoritative Expositors of it, (though we reverence their Writings on many Accounts) any more than they of the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth Centuries, &c. General Councils, Assemblies, Convocations, &c. are neither our *Rule*, nor have they Authority to expound it. (Such Authority I mean, as all must be determined by.) Creeds, Catechisms, Canons, Confessions or Articles of Faith, drawn up, and agreed upon, by this or that Church, are not our *Rule*: These are all subordinate to Scripture, and of no Value, but as they are grounded upon it, and accord with it: And indeed are no more but Declarations how such and such Men (all fallible, and, in many Things, no doubt partial, and prejudiced) met at *Ephe-*
sus,

fus, at *Nice*, at *Westminster*, &c. understood the Scripture in the Particulars they had before them. And he that acts as a Christian, and according to the Laws of his Discipleship, and with due Regard to the *Rabbi in Heaven*, will * examine what they say (as far as capable) by the Rule of the Scripture,

B 4

But * I would
not be under-
stood,

as if I thought all Things in the Bible were obvious to every Reader, and upon a Level with every Capacity, as if Expositions were of no Use, or all the Members of the Church qualified to be Expositors for themselves. Things absolutely necessary to Salvation, it is granted, are plain and easy; but it cannot be denied there are *δυσνόητα*, Things hard to be understood; not only in *Paul's* Epistles, but in other Parts of Scripture, with respect to which most will find like the *Ethiopian Eunuch*, *Acts* viii. 31. that they want a Guide: Few have the necessary Preparations of human Learning, sufficient Leisure, &c. for searching into the abstruser Points of the Bible; they are obliged to take many Things upon Trust, or be wholly ignorant of them. Nor is there any Remedy for this, that I know of, except a new Inspiration: So that tho' Catechisms, Creeds, Expositions, &c. are no Part of our Rule, they are however (some of them at least) useful in their Place; nor can I see but the same Credit is due to a learned Interpreter, and judicious Divine in Matters of Divinity, especially the more critical Articles of it, as we give to a Lawyer or Physician in their several Professions: If it be said, that every one is bound to know something of Divinity himself, his Salvation depends upon it; whereas it is not necessary he should study Law or Physick: I answer, It is granted he must know the fundamental Points, but even in these he will be the better for a good Instructor: And as to many other Things he is under a Necessity of depending upon his Teachers: Nor are the main Body of Christians much better qualified to be Expositors of the Bible, than Pleaders at the Bar: Two Extremes are here to be avoided, on the one Hand the setting up of *Rabbies*, and calling any one Father on Earth: (*The Churches having Authority in Matters of Faith*, is an Expression gross enough.) On the other Hand, a Contempt or Neglect of the Ministry of the Church, by which a great many valuable Truths have been handed down to us. Should all our Catechisms, Creeds, Expositions be destroyed, and the Bible be put naked into every one's Hand, without any of the Helps we have now to understand it, I am persuaded we should find ourselves carried many Degrees backward, and be at a Loss in many Particulars of Importance; wherein our Free-thinkers could make us but little Help. I would be a Slave to no Catechism, Council or Expositors, would not make them my Rule; but I must thankfully accept all Assistance they afford, for understanding the Rule.

But the first four General Councils are received by all Protestants, &c. received, how? Not by any in their Wits, as the *Rule of Faith*, or Part of it, They have in them some Things true, some Things probable only, and no Question, some Things false; and whether they be true or false, (in Points of Faith I mean) Scripture must determine.

Well, this is the *Christian's, the Protestant's Rule of Faith*: I am now to add, it was the departing from this Rule, and setting up an exorbitant Power in the Church, and in the Pastors of it, (*viz.* to declare the Sense of Scripture, to make new Laws, Prescriptions, &c. not found in the Scripture) that led on the great Apostasy, and helped *Antichrist* up to his Throne, where he has sat swelling in his Pride, for about a thousand Years.

It would be easy to prove that the Power which Christ left with his Church, and the Governors of it, is wholly *ministerial*. Their Business is to assist the People in understanding this Rule, and living according to it; which is so great, so extensive, so important a Work, that they need not seek for other Employments: They have enough to do to enforce the Laws of Christ, and exercise the Discipline he has appointed; without making new Laws, or devising a new Discipline: And, oh! how well, how happy had it been for the Church, had the Bishops, and Ministers of it, with Zeal and Diligence, attended to this, as their proper Province, without diverting to foreign Matters: Hereby they would have procured more Reverence to themselves, and esteemed of their Office. And indeed it is scarce possible, that an Office so useful as this; so beneficial to Mankind; so serviceable to their highest and greatest Interests, should ever fall into Contempt, when the Duties of

of it, are in any good Measure fulfilled. But to return from this Digression.

It was, I say, a *Departure from the only Rule of Faith*, and raising the Power of the Church too high, that began the Antichristian Apostasy, and laid the Foundation of *Babel*, that *Great City*, that made all Nations drink of the Wine of the Wrath of her Fornication. The Rise of Apostasy in the Church. Rev. 14. 8.

It is sufficiently known, that when the Christian Religion was established by human Laws, and the Church, from being persecuted by a Succession of *Pagan Emperors*, came under the Protection of the renowned *Constantine*, no small Change was made in the State and Government of it.

That Prince being educated in Paganism, and having observed the Pomp of the Pagan Worship, and the excessive Honours paid to their Pontiffs, thought fit to *imitate them*; partly to show his Zeal for the Christian Religion, partly to take off the Prejudices the Pagans had against it.

Hence came the *Magnificence* and Splendor of their Temples. *Eusebius* * observes, that the former Structures which had been demolished (in the Time of Persecution) were little and mean, but the new were *spacious, sumptuous* and *splendid*. He took particular Care to † Grace the chief Cities with stately Oratories; especially *Constantinople, Antioch* and *Jerusalem*: In the last of which he built a most magnificent Temple, in the Place of *Christ's* Sepulchre, and another sacred Oratory, in Honour of the Cross, and a third at the Foot of the Mount, where *Christ* ascended into Heaven. * Hist. Eccl. lib. 10. cap. 2. † Euseb. Vita Constant. lib. 3. cap. 24. ad 57.

And that nothing might be wanting, for the Glory of the Christian Worship, and Churches, he appoints a solemn *Consecration* of them, as the

† Euseb. the Pagans had of their Temples. † *Eusebius*
 de Vit. gives this Account of the Dedication of one of
 Constant. the Churches newly erected at *Jerusalem*. 'The
 lib. 4. cap. Emperor called a very great Number of Bishops
 40, 41, 42, 'out of all the Provinces: These being met at
 43, 44. 'Tyre, received the Imperial Letters to hasten
 &c. See 'to *Jerusalem*, whither they were carried at
 a fuller Ac- 'the publick Charge: Several of the Imperial
 count of 'Ministers were ordered to attend the Solemnity,
 this, and 'and to grace the Festival, at the Emperor's
 some Re- 'Expence. The Ministers of God adorned the
 flections 'Festival; some by Preaching and Prayer; o-
 upon it, in 'thers by Panegerick Orations, in Commenda-
 Mr. Owen's 'tion of the Emperor's Piety, and the Magnifi-
 History of 'cence of the Building; others by reading and
 Consecrati- 'expounding the Holy Scriptures: Others im-
 on of 'plored the Favour of God by unbloody Sacri-
 Altars, 'fices, and mystical sacred Actions, and offered
 pag. 44. 'up Prayers for the publick Peace, for the
 'Church of God, for the Emperor the Author of
 'so many Blessings, and for his pious Children,
 'Thus was the Solemnity of the Consecration
 'celebrated with great Rejoicings in the Empe-
 'ror's thirtieth Year.'

Excessive
 Honours
 conferred
 on the
 Clergy.

The Clergy in the mean Time, had all the
 Marks of Distinction imaginable. He directed
 Letters to the Bishop by Name, says *Eusebius*,
 and gave them Honours, and large Sums of Mo-
 ney. They were made Arbitrators in Cases of
 Difference among the People; which, as it was
 practised whilst the Empire was generally *Hea-
 then*, to prevent going to Law before Pagan Tri-
 bunals, according to that of the Apostle; so it
 was afterwards continued, for the greater Digni-
 ty of their Office. *Eusebius* † tells us, *Constan-
 tine* made a Law, to confirm all such Decisions
 of the Bishops in their Consistories, and that no
 secular Judges should have any Power to reverse
 them,

1 Cor. 6.
 4.

† De vita
 Constanti
 lib. 4.
 cap. 27.

them, inasmuch as the Priests of God were to be preferred before any other Judge. Another Historian says, he gave Leave to all Litigants to *Sazomon*, refer their Cause to the Determination of Bish- *Hist. lib. 1.* shops, whose Sentence should stand good, and *cap. 9.* be as authentick as if it had been the Decision of the Emperor himself, and that the Governors of every Province, and their Officers, should be obliged to put their Decrees in Execution.

High swelling Titles, it may not be so becoming the Preachers of the Cross, were given the Bishops. And it seems, it was esteemed so great a Privilege to have their Benediction, that even Emperors received it, *bowing the Head*. Kings and Princes, says *Ambrose*, did not disdain to bend and bow their Necks to the Knees of the Priests, and to kiss their Hands, thinking *De Digni-* themselves protected by their Prayers. *tate sacerd.* *cap. 2.*

The Power and Jurisdiction of the Bishops was very much extended at the same Time, and and some of them raised to a vast Superiority over the others of the same Order, even to the Degree of *Church* *modelled* *after the* *Manner* *of the* *Empire.* *The* *whole Roman Empire*, says *Dr. Cave*, consisted of thirteen Diocesses; (for so they began to stile those large Divisions about the *Ancient Church Govern-* *ment, pag.* *31, &c.* *Time of Constantine*.) In each of those Diocesses, were several Provinces, (118 in all) the chief City whereof, in every Province, was the *Metropolis*, that had a Kind of Jurisdiction over all the rest; both Title and Dignity being peculiarly settled by Imperial Constitutions. Now the Civil and Ecclesiastical Jurisdictions were concurrent, after this Manner. In every City there was a Civil Judge, who

' who presided over it, and the Towns about it:
 ' And to him answered the *Bishop* of that Ci-
 ' ty; in every Province, a *Proconsul* or *Presi-*
 ' *dent* resided at the Metropolis, governed that
 ' whole Division, received Appeals, and de-
 ' termined all important Cases, brought before
 ' him from the inferior Cities. Correspondent
 ' to him was the *Metropolitan*, or (as they af-
 ' ter called him) the Archbishop, whose See
 ' was in the same City, who superintended
 ' the several Churches, and ordained the seve-
 ' ral Bishops within his Province; and then in
 ' every Diocess (or large Division of the Em-
 ' pire) there was a *Vicarius*, or Lieutenant, who
 ' kept his Residence in the principal City,
 ' thence dispatched the Imperial Edicts, and
 ' there heard and decided those Causes, that
 ' were not finally determined by inferior Courts;
 ' and concurrent with him in Ecclesiastical Mat-
 ' ters, was the *Primate*, or (as some of them
 ' were more eminently stiled) the *Patriarch*,
 ' who presided over the several Metropolitans
 ' within that Diocess, appointed the Conven-
 ' tions of his Clergy, umpired the Differences
 ' that arose between the several Bishops, gave
 ' the Determination to all Appeals brought be-
 ' fore him: And thus (adds he) by an *ordinary*
 ' *Subordination* of Deacons, and Presbyters to
 ' their Bishops, of Bishops to their immediate
 ' Metropolitans, of Metropolitans to their re-
 ' spective Primates or Patriarchs, and by a mu-
 ' tual Correspondence between the several Pri-
 ' mates of every Diocess, the Affairs of the
 ' Christian Church were carried on with great
 ' Decorum and Regularity.'

The Doctor (Page 82.) owns, that this was
 a *human Contrivance*; (as no Man in his sober
 Senses can deny) he seems indeed, not a little
 pleased

pleased with it; he calls it a *wise Contrivance*: But *how wise* it was, the Church, by this Time, has had a sufficient Experience. This is certain, that it notably served the Ambition and Usurpation of aspiring Clergymen, and gave no small Encouragement to the Usurpations of the Bishops *Page 141* of *Rome*.

He himself has a Remark to this Purpose,
 • The mighty Reputation, (says he) which the *Vid. Can.*
 • Synod of *Nice* had given to *Metropolitans*,^{6.}
 • and especially to the particular Sees of *Rome*,
 • *Alexandria* and *Antioch*. This inspired them
 • with an ambitious Affection of extending their
 • Superiority and Jurisdiction, and prepared the
 • Way among their Brethren for the easier Re-
 • ception of it. The Synod of *Nice* was be-
 • held by all, with a just Regard and Venerati-
 • on, and its Decrees received as Oracles from
 • Heaven: And the Christian World, finding
 • what particular Care it had taken of those three
 • great Sees, were the more ready to submit, and
 • strike Sail to *Usurpations*; hence, says he,
 • the following Popes, but especially *Leo the I.*
 • do upon all Occasions magnify the *Nicene Ca-*
 • *nons*, &c.' And who can behold, and not be-
 • wail the unhappy Conduct of the Clergy under
 • their Preferments, the wretched Spirit of Faction
 • and Contention that prevailed among them, e-
 • specially in their Synods, which did not a little
 • disparage their Office, and sully the Glory of
 • the Christian Profession; nor sooner were they
 • delivered from the Hands of their Enemies, but
 • they began to fall foul on one another, which the
 • good Emperor saw with Regrete, and attempted
 • to heal it. How affectionately and pathetically
 • did he address them, when met at the Council
 • of *Nice*? 'I intreat you, says he, beloved
 Mini-

‘Ministers of God, and Servants of our Saviour
 ‘Jesus Christ, take away the Cause of your Dis-
 ‘sention and Disagreement; establish Peace a-
 ‘mong yourselves:’ And it is said, he burnt
 the Letters they had wrote, one against another,
 (with so much Severity and Bitterness) that such
 Matter of Strife, and such Monuments of their
 Infirmary, might not remain to disgrace them.

But all his Endeavours were to little Purpose.
 They set themselves to dispute about abstruse
 and sublime Points of Faith, with Zeal and Stiff-
 ness; and proceeded to establish their own O-
 pinions, upon severe Penalties against such as
 would not submit to them; who in their Turn
 (when Opportunity offered) took Care to be even
 with them and retaliate the Injuries they thought
 they received; hence Councils against Councils
 Canons against Canons, with Anathema’s, Con-
 fiscations, Imprisonments, Deprivations, burn-
 ing of Books, &c. This was too often the Issue
 of their Councils, insomuch that *Gregory Naz-
 ianzen*, from a just * Resentment of such Pro-
 ceedings, took up a Resolution not to be concern-
 ed in any Meetings of the Clergy, giving this
 Reason for it, that he never saw any Good come
 of them.

And now it was, that their Zeal began to
 spend itself upon Rites and Ceremonies borrowed†
 from

† Sic sentio si verum scribendum est, omnes Conventus Episcoporum
 fugiendos esse, quia nullius synodi finem vidi bonum, neque habentem
 magis solutionem malorum, quam incrementum; nam cupiditates con-
 tentionum & gloriæ (sed ne putes me odiosum ista scribentem) vincunt
 rationem. *Greg. Naz. Epist. ad Procopium.*

† *Boronius* acknowledges, that many Things have been laudably trans-
 lated from Gentile Superstition into the Christian Religion; *Annal. ad*
an. 58. he adds, What Wonder, if the most holy Bishops have granted
 that the ancient Customs of Gentiles, should be introduced into the Wor-
 ship of the true God, from which it seemed impossible to take of many,
 tho’ converted to Christianity: And *Cornelius Agrippa*, *De vanit. Scient.*
 having

from the *Gentiles*, and which were multiplied to that Degree, that *Austin* complains in his Time, that they were *less tolerable than the Yoke of the Jews under the Law*: One Reason for this Complaisance, was the better to win upon their Heathen Neighbours. They would take as many of their Rites and Customs into the Church, as they thought consistent with the Christian Religion, that they themselves might be the more easily induced to follow; but their Policy proved a Mischief to themselves, and a Snare to succeeding Ages.

And how notorious was the Ambition of the Clergy? Their Contention for Preferment in the Church, and for Preheminence one above another, in their respective Sees? That Strife that Christ once rebuked in his Disciples, *who should be greatest*, was now every Day to be seen; the Effects of which were very inglorious to themselves, and uncomfortable to the Church.

I might observe, this was especially evident in the Church of *Rome*. The Spirit of *Diotrephes* early appeared in the Bishops of that Church: An Heathen Historian remarks, that the Bishops of *Rome* were richly clad, carried in Litters, and profuse in their Feastings: They affected a Dominion beyond the Bounds of Priesthood, says *Socrates*, and began to exercise secular Power and Authority. *Basil*, observing this, expresses himself with some Warmth and Indignation;
I hate,

having mentioned several Rites and Ceremonies of Religion, with Reference to Vestments, Lights, Bells, Gestures, Organs, &c. He adds, *Quorum magna pars (Euseb. Teste) ab Ethnicis, in nostram quoque Religionem, migravit.* A great Part of which (as *Eusebius* witnesseth) hath been taken from Heathens, and received into our Religion. *Binnius* extolling the Munificence of *Constantine* towards the Christians, takes notice of his *Superstitionis Gentiliæ justa Æmulatio*; as he calls it, his just Emulation of the Gentile Superstition. Concil. Tom. 7. notæ in Donat. *Constan.* pag. 313.

I hate, says he, † *the Pride of that Church.* There was something of the *Mystery of Iniquity* working betimes in the *Roman Prelates*: *Antichrist* gave early Intimation where he designed to fix his Seat. I shall mention one Instance of *some Hundreds that might be given to the same Purpose, as a Specimen.*

Euseb. Hist.
Eccl. lib.
5. cap. 29.
22, 23.

A Dispute happening between the Eastern and Western Churches, about keeping *Easter*. This important Affair occasioned no little Squabble; the Western Churches, particularly that of *Rome*, were for keeping it on the Lord's Day, pretending a Tradition from *St. Peter*. The Eastern Churches will by all Means conform to the *Jews*, and keep the Feast on the 14th of the Moon of *March*, the Day appointed for the Passover, which they did on Pretence of a Tradition received from *St. John*. Both Sides contended fiercely for their Opinion; nor could either of them recede an Ace from it, being supported by so good Authority.

Contest about keeping Easter. At last *Victor*, Bishop of *Rome*, thinks fit to interpose, and takes upon him to determine the Matter, requiring all other Churches, to conform to the Custom of his own Church; and because the World had not then learned to bow down to the *infallible Chair*, nor knew of any universal Sovereignty set up at *Rome*, they refused

† *Dr. Geddes*, in his Essay on the *Roman Pontificate*, supposes that the proud City of *Rome* inspired her Bishops with a Thought of its being reasonable, that, on her Account, they should be to Christians what her *Pontifex maximus* was to the Heathens; and he endeavours to prove, that out of the Ruins of the *Heathen Pontificate*, rose the *papal Pontificate* in that City: And *St. Jerom* and *St. Paulinus*, both of them assert, that Pride, Ambition, Envy, Avarice, and Luxury, at the Time when the *Heathen Pontificate* was dissolved, was as rampant in the Bishops and Clergy of *Rome*, as ever they had been before any Order of Men in that proud City; for which Reason *Jerom* calls *Rome* *Christian, the Spiritual Babylon*. *Geddes's Posthumous Tracts, p. 68.*

refused to comply with him, notwithstanding
 his Admonitions and Threats; whereupon, the
 proud Man rages against them, denounces his
 Anathema's, and solemnly excommunicates the
 Bishops of the East. Behold here an Intimation,
 and Prefage of what might in Time be expected
 thence; and the End was answerable to the Be-
 ginning: For who needs be informed, that the
 same Spirit reigned in many of his Successors,
 and possessed them more and more, till at last
 the Bishop of *Rome*, from being a vigilant Pa-
 stor to a single Congregation, over whom he
 was set, and among whom he laboured; preach-
 ing to them, praying with them, and for them,
 and teaching from House to House; serving the
 Lord with all Humility, and many Tears, and
 Temptations that beset him; from such a one,
 he grew up to that haughty Sovereign, that
 swaggers over Kings and Emperors, *to our Lord*
God the Pope? But I must not run out upon these
 Things; and shall only remark, that it was, during
 this State of Prosperity, Religion got its first
 Wound. When *Constantine* began to heap Pre-
 ferments and Honours, in the Manner he did,
 upon the Church, some, that foresaw the Danger,
 are said to have brought in a Voice from Hea-
 ven to proclaim it in these Words, *Hodie vene-*
num funditur in Ecclesiam, Now the Church is
 poisoned; which, alas! proved a true Prophecy.
 During the ten raging Persecutions, it flourished
 like the Palm-tree under its Oppressions; but
 could not so well bear the Temptations on the
 other Side. "The Prosperity of the Church
 "proved fatal to her (says the Historian,) open-
 "ed the Gates of the Sanctuary to Corruption,
 "and infatuated many of her Teachers with
 "Envy, Malice and Ambition." She continu-
 ed no longer a chaste Virgin, but was corrupted

from the Simplicity that is in Christ. Religion began to lose its inward Power, which in vain they attempted to supply with outward Form and Pomp. After the Church (says *Jerom*) had
Vita Ma- Christian Magistrates, she was fuller of Riches,
lach. but emptier of Virtue; and it was not long before, there was too much Reason, for the severe Remark, That when the Church had golden Calices, i had wooden Priests.

The grow- It is certain, from the sixth Century, the De-
 ing Apo- fection (begun before) went on apace. A learned
 stacy of the and candid Papist, says of the Writers of the 4th
 Church. and fifth Centuries, " That they were like great

" Lights, whose Meridian Splendor darkened
Dupin's Ad- " the little Lustre, and discovered the great De-
 vertis. to " fects, of the sixth and following Centuries: "
Hilt. of 6th He adds, " The Gust of the Times began to be
 Century. " depraved; Men pleased themselves with start-
 " ing a great many unprofitable Questions, and
 " disputing with dogmatical Stiffness, about
 " Things of small Consequence; too great Cre-
 " dity began to possess the Minds of the more
 " learned; scarce any Thing was then heard of
 " but Miracles, Visions and Apparitions. The
 " Church's Riches began to be burdensom to
 " it; Contests and Canvassings for obtaining Bi-
 " shopricks were very common, and many were
 " promoted to them, who had neither Know-
 " ledge, Merit nor Capacity."

Baronius confesses, few in *Italy* were then,
Annot. ad viz. in the sixth Century, skilled both in *Greek*
An. 1593. and *Latin*: Nay, there *Gregory* himself, called
 Nos nec the Great, for his Eminency amongst his Con-
 Græcum temporaries, acknowledges he was ignorant of
 novimus the *Greek*.
Epist. 69.

In the seventh Century they sunk still lower, as is evident from the Writings of those Times. Most profound and instructive is that precious Piece

Piece of *Moschus*, (St. *Moschus*, if you will) called his *Spiritual Meadow*, where he tells many fine Stories; as, of two Angels standing God-fathers to a Child; of baptizing with Sand; of the *Holy Ghost's* coming down in a visible Shape on the Altar, upon the Priest's pronouncing the Words of Consecration.

And what shall we say of the Conduct of St. *Austin the Monk*, when employed in converting the *Britons*? The Zeal he discovered, and the Pains he took, to settle the *Sacerdotal Tonsure*, and the Time of keeping *Easter* (which were the two great Points he laboured) could not but create him a Reverence suitable to his high Mission and Character; and gives us a very august Opinion of the Wisdom and Religion of that Age.

One Question I cannot but mention, which the *Great Austin*, sent to the no less *Great Gregory*, for Resolution, viz. *Si pregnans mulier baptizari debet?* If a Woman with Child might be baptized? he concluded, that when she was in Child bed, she was undoubtedly unclean, according to the *Levitical Law*, and consequently disqualified for Baptism; but whether her being pregnant rendered her polluted, in this Respect, it would seem it puzzled his Noddle. And in such Speculations as this, their more sublime Doctors employed themselves: Many a one has trotted to *Rome*, (it is Pity but they should have gone bare-foot) with a Case not more important than that which *Amalarius* discusses, viz. Whether it was lawful to spit immediately after the Sacrament?

This was the State of Things from the sixth through the following Centuries, only worse and worse; for we may observe, Apostasy is generally like the Descent of heavy Bodies, with a

Swiftness perpetually increasing. The main Qualifications of the Clergy were, that they should be able to read well, sing their Mattins, know the Lord's Prayer, Psalter, Forms of Exorcism, and understand how to compute the Times of their sacred Festivals: Nor were they very sufficient for this, if we may believe the Account some have given of them. *Musculus* says, That many of them never saw the Scriptures in all their Lives. It would seem incredible, but it is delivered by no less Authority than *Ananias's*, That an Archbishop of *Mentz*, lighting upon a Bible, and looking into it, expressed himself thus: "Of a Truth, I do not know what Book this is; but I perceive every Thing in it is against us." In short, both Clergy and Laity were deluged in Ignorance. We have their *Espenceus* confessing, that an "Egyptian Darkness continued in all the Western World, till a few Years before the Reformation." Nor was it like to be otherwise, when the Priest's Lips, which should have preserved Knowledge, brought it into Contempt; the *Holy Bible* was under Disgrace, Ignorance cried up as the *Mother of Devotion*; nay, the very Fountains of Instructions were in a great Measure shut up; witness that Order of *Gregory the First*, (good Man) That the *Britons* should have no † Schools, only Monasteries, for fear of *Heresies*.

The School-men, it is granted, made a Show of Learning, and Reasoning, as if they would have retrieved Things a little; but their Learning was counterfeit, and employed not so much to reform the Church, as to put a Colour upon its Errors and Superstitions, by nice and subtil Di-

† So *Paul II.* used to call Scholars *Hereticks*, and exhorted the *Romans*, not to suffer their Children to go to School too long; nor could he endure the Name of an Academy. (*Platina in vita ejus.*)

Distinctions, and the Help of a little more *Sophistry*, than some that went before them were Masters of. *Erasmus* sticks not to say, That even in this Age of the School-men, Barbarism overspread Christendom: The liberal Arts and learned Tongues were not studied; the *Latin* was embased, and Antiquity slighted; and that the Sum and Substance of their Learning, was reduced to certain Sophistical Subtilties; and was the Possession and Management of the *Summists*, *Quodlibetists*, and such like Wranglers: He adds, That the Bishops and Pastors affected a Kind of secular and profane Jurisdiction, more than the Execution of their spiritual Function.

Epist. ad
Archiep.
Eboracens.

Ad sophi-
stias quas-
dam argu-
tias, & erat
penes sum-
mularios,
&c.

Indeed all Relish and Sense of Religion was in a great Measure lost; that little which remained amongst them, if it may be called Religion, mostly lay in childish Fopperies, and unmanly Superstitions: Their Divinity ran upon Visions, Prodigies, Deliverance from Purgatory by the Prayers of the Monks, exorcising the Devil, miraculous Power of the Sign of the Cross, &c. Even the better Sort (says *Cassander*) placed the Sum and Substance of their Religion in searching out Reliques, and adorning them.

And for the Morals both of Priests and People, they were so gross and scandalous, that it would foul the Paper to display them. *Baluzius* says, of the Bishops of the eighth Century, That they spent the whole Day, and good Part of the Night, in feasting and revelling; and having pat-tered, or rather stammered, over their Offices, between Sleep and Wake, drunk and sober, they tumbled into Bed; in the Morning whilst dressing they yawned out a few Prayers, (*Pensum servitutis sue desidiose persolventes*) and so to their Cups and Pleasures again. And that the Matter is not much mended since, is notorious enough

The ill Mo-
rals of the
Clergy.

Spanheim's
Hist. Cent.
8. cap. 3.
sub finem.

Quod toto
die Convi-
viis & po-
culis vaca-
rent, & us-
que ad Gal-
lorum can-
tum, &c.

Epist. 40. from the Complaints of some of their own Com-
 ad Step^hanum. The World was amazed, says *Gerbert*,
 num. at the Manners of the *Romans*. Another reckons
Gerbert, up fifty Popes, in the Space of an hundred and
 fifty Years, that were a Reproach to human Na-
 ture; he calls them *Apostatical*, not *Apostolical*.
 And that none may suspect either Ignorance or
 Partiality in an Adversary, I shall give some Ac-
 count of this Matter in the Words of such as lived
 among them, and wanted neither Opportunity
 to know them, nor Ability truly to represent
 them.

Apud Fas-
 do rerum
 expetend.
 & fugiend.
 Tom. 2.

Clemangies, who wrote a Treatise in the fif-
 teenth Century, of the corrupt State of the Ro-
 man Church, is as free in his Complaints, as
 earnest in his Expostulations: After a large Dis-
 course of the Abuses every where notorious, he
 breaks forth in these Words, "*Inunc, & confer*
hanc vitam, hos mores, hac regimina, cum pri-
mæva Disciplina, cum Majorum Charitate, Con-
tinentia, Sobrietate, &c. Go, Reader, and com-
 pare this Life, (*viz.* that he had been describ-
 ing) these Manners, this Government, with
 the Discipline of the first Ages, with the Cha-
 rity, Continence, Sobriety and strict Severity
 of our Fathers, and thou wilt see (unless blind-
 er than a Mole) that there is as much Differ-
 ence between us and them, as between Gold
 and Dirt, &c." And speaking of their *Nun-*
neries, What are they (says he) now become,
 but *Brothel-houses* and common Stews? He adds,
 That now the vailing of *Nun* is all one, as if
 you prostituted her to be a Whore: And in his
 Letter to a Doctor of *Paris*, he urges, that they
 ought not only to depart from *Babylon* (for so
 he calls the *Roman Church*) in their Affections,
 but *bodily and locally*. *Mattheus de Cracovia* speaks
 in the same Strain; he intitules his Book, *De*
Squa-

Sed etiam
 pedibus
 corporis.

Squaloribus Romanae Curiae; and it is a great deal of Filth he rakes together: He sticks not to say, *Ibid.* 585. That scarce any one was so wicked and scandalous, but he might be admitted to Holy Orders, and allowed to celebrate Divine Offices.

And to the like Purpose, *Petrus de Aliaco*, in his Tract offered to the Fathers of the Council of *Fasc. Tom. Constance*: He cries out of the Multitude of their *1. p. 406.* Images, Pictures, Holy-Days, of the great Variety of Religious Orders, &c. and having largely insisted upon the Necessity of reforming the whole State of the Papacy, he adds, Things are come to that Pass in the Church, that it was not fit to be governed but by Reprobates.

To the same Effect, *Laurentius Valla*, *Picus Mirandula*, and others. The former of these composed a Treatise, on Purpose to expose their Forgery with Reference to the *Donation of Constantine*, in which, among other Things, he complains heavily of the Covetousness and Simony of the Pope, urging, that he made Gain not only of the Common-wealth, but of the Church, and even of the *Holy Ghost*; and adds, That the late *Ibid. p.* Popes laboured to be as foolish and wicked, 432. as the former were holy and wise. The other of *Ibid. 417.* these Witnesses, (*viz. Mirandula*) gave a noble Specimen in his Oration at the Council of *Lateran*, not only of his Learning and Eloquence, but of his Zeal for Religion, and deep Concern for the Corruption of the Times. Even with the Leaders and chief Men of our Religion, (says he) there is little or no Worship of God; no good Method of Living; no Shame, no Modesty, no Justice; Religion is turned into Superstition, all Orders and Degrees of Men openly sin; so that Virtue itself is made Matter of Reproach to those that practise it, and Vices honoured instead of Virtues, &c. These good Men saw a

Contagion spreading itself through the Church; *The whole Head was sick, the whole Heart was faint*; and they were not wanting to bear their Testimony against such Scandals; though generally they were *too few* to be much seen in the World, and *too little* to be heard.

The Complaint of the *Germans* in their *Centum Gravamina*, their hundred Grievances, was a little more alarming: They cry out, of the intolerable Burden of *human Impositions*; that many Things were required and forbid, which God had neither commanded nor prohibited; suggesting how they pick their Pockets by such Devices, and how horridly they abused the Indulgences that they set to Sale amongst them, pretending to pardon not only the Living but the Dead: Hence (say they) Whoredom, Incest, Adultery, Perjury, Murder, and all Sorts of Wickedness. For what Evil will Men fear, if they do once believe they can purchase to themselves Liberty of sinning by Money? &c.

Quæ nullo
Divino
præcepto
interdicta
sunt, vel
Imperata.
Fasc. Tom.
I. 335.

Now these are the * Complaints, not of Enemies, but Friends, Members of their own Church. And that they had just Reason to be uneasy, and call aloud for Reformation, may appear to any one that takes a View of their Discipline.

What shall we think of that famous (or rather infamous) Book of theirs called *Taxa*
† *Camera*

* We have the like Complaint in *Agrippa* (de Vanit. scient.) who calls the Doctors of their Church, blind Guides, a Generation of Vipers, whitened Sepulchres, who in their Mitres, Caps, Hoods, and Habits, make a Show of Holiness, but within are full of Filthiness, Hypocrisy, Iniquity. Drunkards, Gluttons, Gamesters, Whoremongers, Bawds and Wizards; and yet, says he, a Man may not contradict their Decrees, unless he will be burnt for it.

† *Camera Apostolica*, The Tax of the Apostolical Chamber, by which they establish Iniquity by a Law, and contrive how Men may sin *cum Privilegio*. You have here a certain Rate fixed for Absolutions of all the Vices Mankind are addicted to; of murdering Brethren, Sisters, Fathers, Mothers, Wives or Husbands; of Incest with Sister, Mother, &c. of all Sorts of Uncleaness, Theft, Revenge; and, in short, of any Kind of Wickedness their Inclination leads to. I will give the Reader a brief Taste of their Courtesy: Absolution for him that lieth with a Woman in the Church, is rated at 6 *Grossoes*. If a Priest keep a Concubine, he must for his Absolution pay 7 *Grossoes*; if he be a Lay-man, he must pay 8, ^{about four Pence Farthing English Money} If a Lay-man commit Sacrilege, he may be absolved for 7 *Grossoes*: If a Man lieth carnally with his Mother, Sister, or God-mother, he must pay for Absolution 5 *Grossoes*: If he deflours a Virgin, or is perjured, the Price is 6 *Grossoes*. If a Lay-man kill an Abbot, Monk, &c. he shall pay for his Absolution 7, 8, 9 *Grossoes*, according to the Dignity of the Person: If he kill a Lay-man only, he shall pay but 5 *Grossoes*: If a Woman with Child

† This glorious Piece was first published at Rome, in the Time of Pope Leo X. and afterwards printed at Paris 1522. the King's Privilege being joined to it. It was the next Year 1523. printed at Colon, and afterwards in the Collection called *Tractatus Illustrium Virorum*, at Lyons 1549. And tho' *Claudius Espenceus* (cap. 1. Digress. 2.) the famous Sorbon Doctor was so ashamed of this Book, that he complains of it in his Comment upon *Titus*; yet this had no other Effect, than to bring his own Book into the *Index expurgatorius*, which condemns this Passage in *Espenceus*, and orders it to be dashed out. It was afterwards reprinted with the foresaid *Tractatus Illustrium*, 1584. at Venice, and dedicated to Pope Gregory VIII. *Laurentius Banck* published it again, with Notes upon it; who affirms, that, to his certain Knowledge, the same Pardons and Abuses are at this Day practised at Rome. Some may alledge that the *Taxa* is placed in the *Index Expurgatorius* by Pope Alexander VII. and it is true. But then it must be considered, that it is only that Edition of it, put forth with *Banck's* Notes; he excepts nothing against the Book itself. (Preface to *Fowlic's History of Popish Treasons*.)

Child wilfully destroy the Infant within her, she shall be absolved for 5 *Grossoes*. These, and such like, are the Prices of Sin with *holy Church*. One Remark is admirable: At the Close they tell us, *Quod hujusmodi gratia non conceduntur pauperibus*; 'that such Acts of Favour cannot be granted to the Poor, because they have not *quibus consolari possunt*, i. e. *They want Money, and no Penny, no Pater noster, no Pardon.*'

What Wickedness such a vile Discipline as this, (and many * more Instances might be added of the like Nature) would introduce into the World, and actually has, we are not now to learn. Sir *Edward Sandys*, speaking of *Italy*, through which he travelled, and where Popery may be seen in its Perfection, says, 'The whole Country is overflowed with Iniquity, with Filthiness of Speech, with Beastliness of Actions; both Governors and Subjects, both Priests and Friars, each striving as it were with others in an Impudence therein.'

Nor have their Monasteries, their religious Houses (where Men sequester from the World, under Pretence of Devotion and greater Holiness) escaped the Pollution. If we may judge of others by those in *England* at the Time of their Dissolution, we cannot forbear calling them *Nests of Villany and Uncleannefs*. The Discovery then made of their many Impostures, Murders, unnatural Lusts, (Sins, to punish which God once rained Fire and Brimstone from Heaven) sufficiently exposed them to the lothing of all such

* Their *Mantuan*, whom *Bellarmino* commends for a learned and godly Poet, expresses his Sense of *Rome*, and the Discipline of Holy Church, more immediately under the Pope's Eye; in this Distich,

'Vivere qui sancte cupitis, discedite Roma;

'Omnia cum liceant, non licet esse bonum.

such as had any Modesty or Sense of Virtue remaining.

Their insatiable Covetousness in the Conduct of their Affairs, and Exercise of Discipline, is most notorious, and has brought them into a just Contempt with all the Unprejudiced among Mankind: If ever it might be said of any in the World, that *Gain is Godliness with them*; it might be said of these Men. Many of their Doctrines, Rites, Observances (as Indulgence, Purgatory, Laws of Penance, &c.) owe their Being wholly to the Covetousness of their Authors: And it is almost incredible, what Sums of Money are drawn into the Pope's Coffers, by these and other little Devices that depend upon them; as *Masses, Requiem's, Trentals, Obits*; as also by *Peter-pence, Tenths, First-fruits, Appeals, Investitures*; by the Sale of *Agnus Dei, consecrated Beads*, and such like Ware, sent from Rome every Year; by *Dispensations, Mortuaries, Pilgrimages* to the Apostolick See, especially at the Jubilee. Some have computed, that the Tenths and First-fruits, in this Nation, amounted to above 20,000 *l. per annum*, which was no small Sum in those Times; nay, one *Archbishop's Pall*, (*Walter Grey's of York*) cost 10,000 *l. Sterl.* says *Matthew Paris*. In our *Henry the III's* Time, it was reckoned, that the Pope's Revenue out of this Nation exceeded the King's; and some, that have endeavoured to make the Estimate, tell us, that there went 60,000 Merks yearly out of this Land to Rome: In collecting which Sums, the Frauds and Cruelties of their Agents were such, that a great Biggot of the Pope's, and a hot Stickler in *Becket's Cause*, *Johan. Sarish.* assures us, 'That the Legates of the Apostolical Seat did tyrannize over the Provinces, as if the Devil was gone out from the Presence of the Lord to scourge

The
Church en-
grosseth
Riches.

Matt. Paris
p. 667.

'scourge the Church.' Yet, to oppose these Officers of the *Pope*, is reckoned at *Rome* the most mortal Sin.

† Europ.
Specul.

Nor had our Neighbours much better Treatment: The same Trade was carried on in other Countries; witness the Complaint of the *Germans* in their hundred Grievances; and that of the Council of *Spain*, mentioned by *Sandys* in his *Europa speculum*, viz. that Pope *Pius V.* had got 14 Millions out of that Kingdom in a short Space. And *Ciracella* affirms, that Pope *Sixtus V.* in five Years Time collected 5 Millions of Crowns; † 4 Millions of which *Gregory XIV.* his Successor, wasted in Pomp and Riot, in less than 10 Months. In short, the Church had found Means to ingross the greatest Part of the Treasure of the Western World into their own Hands; and, had not a Stop been put to their Encroachments, in a little while more, they would have enslaved and impoverished all Mankind that owned their Usurpation.

Nor need we wonder at this, considering how many Hands were employed. The grand *Fisherman* at *Rome*, had a Multitude of every Country to angle, partly for him, and partly for themselves. *Alsted* reckons, above 100 Years ago, that there were then at least 225,044 Monasteries in *Christendom*; and, if you allow 40 Persons to an House, the Number will be more than 9 Million. Now all these, and the rest of the Ecclesiasticks, which, like Locusts, had overspread the Face of the Earth, lived upon the Plunder of the People: And besides, they had a thousand little Tricks and Devices to get Money; they could sell a dead Man's Bones at a vast Sum; *Austin's* particularly (that were translated from *Hippo* to *Sardinia*) were purchased at 100 Talents of Silver, and a Talent of Gold. And
having

having almost an infinite Variety of Ware, which they put off at no small Rate, taking Advantage of the Superstition and Credulity of their silly Chapmen, it strangely enriched them: Their own Poet *Mantuan* acknowledges, that all Things were set to Sale at *Rome*: Not only Temples, Priests and Altars, but Heaven and God,

————— *Venalia nobis* —————

*Templa, Sacerdotes, Altaria sacra, Corona,
Ignes, Thura, Preces; Cælum est venale, Deusq;*

But to go on.

View their Morals with respect to Society, and they will appear so gross, that, instead of obtaining, as they have done in the World, one would rather expect, the Princes of *Europe* should have banished them out of their Dominions. For such are their Principles, that, if they act upon them, it is impossible they should either be good Subjects, or good Neighbours.

It is known that all the Ecclesiasticks of whatever Degree, are exempted from the Jurisdiction of the secular Power. So that if a Clergyman be guilty of Theft, Murder, Blasphemy, Perjury, &c. they won't allow him to be tried by the Civil Magistrate. *Bellarmino* † maintains † *De offi-* this Exemption of the Ecclesiasticks, alledging ascio Christi-
a Reason for it, That secular Princes are not the^{ani prin-}
lawful Superiors of the Clergy, unless it be prov-^{cip. lib. 1.}
ed, that the *Sheep are better than the Shepherd*,^{cap. 5.}
the Sons than the Fathers, and Temporals than
Spirituals: And hence it passes for a Maxim with
them; That the Rebellion of a Clergyman against
his Prince is not Treason, because he is not his
Prince's Subject. Nor is this mere Speculation,
what they talk of, and dispute in their Schools;
but it is Matter of Faith with them, a necessary
Prin-

Principle which they have brought in to act, in Instances enough; witness the Quarrel between *Henry II.* and *Becket*. The King would needs chastize the disorderly Clergy, and did so, notwithstanding *Becket's* Remonstrance against it, as being a Violation of the Privileges of the Church: *Becket* resists, and dies in the Quarrel, as is known; upon which the Pope falls on the King, who, by way of Atonement for his Fault, submitted to be stripped at *Canterbury*, and whipped by the Monks.

How they have insulted and trampled upon crowned Heads, is sufficiently known, and not here to be enlarged upon. *The Council of Lateran* has past a Decree of Deposition against Heretical Princes, or such as should be remiss in prosecuting those the Church shall mark out for *Hereticks*. The Words of the Council are, 'If

Popish Principles destructive to Protest. Princes & States. 'the temporal Governor, being required and admonished by the Church, shall neglect to purge the Country of Heresy, let this be signified to the Pope, that from henceforth he may declare his Subjects free from their Allegiance, and give away his Land to be possessed by Catholics.' And, to show that they are in good Earnest, they have given the World Examples of their Doctrine, in the actual Deposition of many of the greatest Princes in *Europe*; some short * Account of which, I have thought fit to subjoin in the Margin.

I grant

- * Pope *Zachary I.* deposed *Childerick* King of *France*.
- Pope *Gregory VII.* deposed *Henry IV.* Emperor.
- Pope *Urban II.* deposed *Philip* King of *France*.
- Pope *Adrian IV.* deposed *William* King of *Sicily*.
- Pope *Innocent III.* deposed *Philip* Emperor.
- Pope *Gregory* deposed *Frederick II.*
- Pope *Innocent IV.* deposed King *John* of *England*.
- Pope *Urban IV.* deposed *Mamphred* King of *Sicily*.

I grant, the Popes have of late been more sparing of their spiritual Thunder-bolts, and that for a good Reason; they saw the Princes of *Europe* began to despise them, and seemed not willing to suffer themselves to be abused as formerly; on which Account, no question, it was, that there is no express Mention of the deposing Power of the Church, in the *Council of Trent*, only it is implied in the Ratification of the *Lateran Council*.

However, the Doctrine is the *same*; the Principle abides with them. They still teach, an Heretick has no Right to his Crown, and that, when he is excommunicated, it is no Sin for any to kill him. This is their Doctrine; and the Effects of it are well enough known to *Europe*, by the murdering of several Princes, and the Loss of some hundred thousand other Lives.

Nor are their Principles much kinder to their Fellow-subjects, than to their Sovereigns: The same renowned Council of *Lateran*, has at once divested Hereticks of all their Rights: To plunder such, is no Robbery; to kill such, is no Murder; to break Oaths with such, is no Perjury. Hence it was, that, after *Jerom of Prague* and *John Huss* had *safe Conduct* granted them by the Emperor, the good Fathers of *Constance* burnt them notwithstanding, alledging, that Faith was not to be kept with Hereticks. And it seems

Pope *Nicholas III.* deposed *Charles* King of *Sicily*.

Pope *Martin IV.* deposed *Peter* of *Arragon*.

Pope *Boniface VIII.* deprived *Philip the Fair*, upon which Occasion, to justify what he had done, he published in his Bull, which is now Part of the Canon Law, the following Decree; 'We declare and pronounce it, as necessary to Salvation, that all Mankind be Subject to the *Roman Pontiff*. Vide Dr. *Chandler's* Sermon, November 5. 1714. p. 20.

Pope *Clement V.* deposed *Henry V.* Emperor.

Pope *John XXII.* deprived the Emperor *Lodovick*.

Pope *Gregory IX.* deposed the Emperor *Wenceslaus*.

Pope *Paul III.* deprived *Henry VIII.* of *England*.

Seems Pope *Martin V.* went further, when he declared to the Duke of *Lithuania*, That he sinned mortally, if he kept his Faith with Hereticks. So that it is plain, the *bona fides* of a Catholick (especially in Matters where the Interest of Holy Church may be concerned) is not to be regarded, and that some other Security is to be expected, besides Stipulations, Promises and Oaths, even when their Perfidy has not yet been proclaimed to the World.

In short, there is not a Protestant Prince now on Earth, that is not excommunicated, and laid under Curses enow to sink an ordinary Man to Purgatory, and lower: Nor is there a Protestant Kingdom in the World, but all the Subjects thereof are * devoted to Destruction: And there

is

† Pope *Paul V.* by his Bull, *April 4. 1613.* solemnly excommunicates and anathematizes all *Hussites, Wicklephists, Lutherans, Zuinglians, Calvinists, Hugonots, Anabaptists*, and *Apostates* from the Christian Faith, by whatever Name they are called; as also their Receivers, Favourers, &c. together with all who, without the Authority of the Apostolick See, knowingly read, keep, print, or any ways defend their Books, defending *Heresy*, or treating of Religion: He also interdicts all Universities, Colleges, &c. who appeal from the Orders and Decrees of the Popes of *Rome* for the Time being, to a future general Council; and those also, by whose Aid or Favour the Appeal was made. This Bull of Excommunication was affixed to the Door of the Lateran, and *St. Peter's Church* in *Rome*; and is pronounced every Year on *Maunday-Thursday*, and has been ratified and confirmed by more than twenty Popes: Hereby all Protestants in the World, of whatever Rank and Degree, stand condemned, and are to be cut off by any possible Methods, either of Deceit or Violence. It was but agreeable to Catholick Doctrine, that (*Apologia Stanleianæ Proditionis*) *Alanus* determined with Reference to Queen *Elizabeth*, that since she was both an Heretick, and excommunicate, her Subjects were in Conscience bound to deliver up to the King of *Spain* her Armies, Cities, Castles, &c. and that the Queen may no longer have a Property in any Thing: Christians may not tolerate a King that is an Heretick, says *Bellarmino*; and says *Massovius*, He that reigns contrary to the Pope's Mind, is a Tyrant; and *Bannes*, having declared for the deposing of an heretical King, if there be a sufficient Force, otherwise to attempt it, may expose the Catholicks to Danger, adds, On which Account the Catholicks in *England* and *Saxony* are excused from rising up in Arms against their Protestant Princes, because commonly they are not powerful enough to carry on War against them.

But

is nothing else between them and the Excision the Church has determined, but want of Power to execute the Church's Sentence. If it was possible (says † *Bellarmino*) to extirpate Here-^{† De Lai-} ticks, undoubtedly they ought to be destroyed ^{cis, lib. 3.} Root and Branch; but *if it cannot be done*, be-^{cap. 22.} cause they are stronger than we, and if, when we engage in War against them, they are like to be too hard for us, *tunc quiescendum est*, in that Case we are to be quiet, *i. e.* they are not bound to cut our Throats, and murder us, whether they be able or not; but, whenever they have Ability and Opportunity, they have Leave to do it, and indeed are obliged to do it; nor are a thousand Oaths any Security to us, that they will not do it. This is *Popish Divinity, Popish Religion*.

And they have gone as far as they can in Pursuit of their Principles. As they teach, *That Faith is not to be kept with Hereticks*; they are no Hypocrites in this, but have, very agreeably to their Principles, violated the most solemn Oaths and Engagements. They teach that Hereticks are to be destroyed, and they have done their utmost to apply their own Doctrine. Witness the Butcheries committed in *Germany, Poland;*

But where it can be done the Catholicks are to depose them: Nay, they are to do it, says *Creswell*, on Peril of their Souls; and, adds *Mariana*, Kings who renounce the Popish Religion are to be treated like mad Dogs, and he is to be commended who, at the Peril of his Life, shall procure the publick Welfare: Sometimes indeed Papists may live quietly under a Protestant Government. The Pope in the Year 1580. when *Campion* and *Parsons* came into *England*, sent a Dispensation to the Catholicks to submit to *Queen Elizabeth* in Temporals, but this was with a Condition, *the Case thus standing, i. e.* because they could not do better, but as soon as an Opportunity offered, *viz.* in the Year 1588. when the *Spaniard* furnished out his Armada, then they are discharged from their Faith to the Queen, which *Allen* signified in his Admonition to the Nobility of *England*, and called upon them to engage in the Old Cause. It is the unchangeable Law of Holy Church, *that they must destroy us if they can, and when they can.*

land, *Bohemia*, and in the *Netherlands* by the Duke of *Alva*; and especially towards the *Wal-denses*, above a Million of whom have been put to Death in *France*, as some have observed; witness what was done in *England* in Queen *Mary's* Days; the Massacre of *Paris*, wherein Cruelty and Perfidy seemed to contend, which should most triumph: Witness the Havock made in *Ireland*, during the Rebellion there, when between two and three hundred thousand Protestants were murdered, with all the Circumstances of Inhumanity imaginable; but, not to insist upon more Particulars, some that have strictly enquired into these Matters, tell us, *That in forty Years Rome has been the Death of forty Millions.*

Acts 19.
25.

What their *Faith* is, may be learned from their Catechisms, Decrees of Councils, &c. and especially from their new *Trent* Creed, which consists of 24 Articles; the 12 of the ancient Creed, generally received in Protestant Churches, and called the Apostles Creed; and 12 new Articles of their own coining, which in effect subvert the former. In this Summary of their Faith, they declare they embrace all the Traditions of the Church; some Particulars of which are mentioned, as the 7 Sacraments, Indulgence, Purgatory, &c. but it is manifest, as they can produce no competent Authority for any of these, so they maintain them upon no other Principles, than that of *Demetrius*, viz. *because by this Craft they have their Gain.* They believe the Church has the Power to interpret Scripture, which is to set it above Christ and his Apostles; since we have the Letter from them only, and the Sense from the Church. They declare they believe the Sacrifice of the Mass, Transubstantiation, the Invocation of Saints, the Worship of Reliques, &c. And that nothing might be left out that might adorn

and complete the Faith of a Catholick; they add, Art. 24. (which is the 12th of their own Creed) 'That they do, *without any Doubt*, 'receive and profess *all* other Things, that have 'been delivered, defined, and declared by sacred 'Canons and general Councils.' But how is this possible, when it is certain many of their sacred Canons and Councils are perfectly inconsistent, and contradict one another? As for Instance, when a general Council (as the 6th) defines that Heresy dissolves Marriage, and the Council of *Trent* the † contrary, which is Fact, the Que-^{† Instances}stion is not, which of these I must believe, ^{enow may,} *but* ^{be given of} *how it is possible to believe both.* ^{Popes and Councils}

contradictory one of another: *Julius I.* decreed, that none of either Sex, should marry within the seventh *Degree* of Consanguinity: *Innocent III.* decreed, that the Prohibition should not exceed the fourth *Degree* of Consanguinity and Affinity: The Council of *Trent* condemns Polygamy, and curses those that maintain, that it is lawful for Christians to have more Wives than one at the same Time: *Gregory III.* allows, in case of the Wife's Infirmary, the Husband to take *another Wife*, if he want the Gift of Continence, only he must allow the other a Maintenance. *Pope Gelasius II.* decreed, that, to distinguish the *Catholicks* from the *Manichees*, Believers should receive the Sacrament in both Kinds: The Council of *Constance* curses those that exhort the People to do so; and sometimes *more Enmity* in one *Pope* to his Predecessor, has occasioned the reversing his Decrees, as in the Instance of *Stephen II.* towards *Formosus*. The first Act *Stephen* did was to repeal his Decrees; nor did he rest here, but showed his Spite to *Formosus's* dead Body, which he dragged from its Sepulchre, haled to Judgment, and passed Sentence upon, as if it had been alive. *Platina*, mentioning this Rage of *Stephen*, calls it a *bad Precedent*; the Practice being afterwards very much taken up, that following *Popes*, either infringed or utterly abolished the Acts of their Predecessors. Thus *Romanus*, as soon as he got into the Chair, repealed the Decrees of *Stephen*; and *Theodorus* renewed the Acts of *Formosus*: And yet all these worthy Men must be infallible, and all their sacred Canons received! Vide Protest. Fam. Piece, Page 9.

But I must check myself; I have drawn out the Discourse to too great a Length upon this Head, and yet after all cannot pretend to have made any thing like a sufficient Representation

of *Popery*; and therefore, as was said before, I shall refer the Reader to such Treatises of Protestant Divines as display the Spirit of *Popery* more fully, and to the Life; or rather, I would refer to their own Books: Read but their *Missal*, *Ritual*, *Breviaries*, *Pontifical*, their *Canon Law*, *Decretals*, *Bullary*, *Extravagants*, *Psalterium B.*

* Genuine *Maria* by *Bonaventure*, of which last * Dr. Bar-
remains. *low* says, 'It is the most impious and blasphemous Piece of Superstition and Idolatry the Sun ever saw; for whatever in *David's* Psalms is spoken of God or our blessed Saviour, is in that *Psalter* attributed to the Virgin *Mary*.' Read the *Hora* and *Mannual* of the blessed Virgin; their *Taxe Camera* Apost. (of which an Account before) read the Decisions of their Councils, and particularly of the Council of *Trent*, which confirms all the rest: Do but read, I say, these several Tracts, which are the most authentick Pieces of Divinity and Devotion they have among them; all of them approved by their Church, and recommended by the highest Authority, and you will find enough to convince you that *Pope-ry* is such a Corruption of the Christian Religion; such a Complication of mysterious Wickedness, as fully answers all the Scripture Characters of the Antichristian Apostasy.

The Re. After *Religion* had lain bleeding and languishing for many Ages, and almost quite lost out of the World, it pleased God to awaken the Minds of some to endeavour a Revival of it: Indeed the *Waldenses* were steady constant Witnesses, that never withdrew their Testimony, but continued to prophesy, *tho' in Sackcloth*: They are thought to have remained a distinct Body from the *Roman* Church all along. *Reinerus* their bitter Enemy gives this Account of them, 'That
Contra *Waldenses*,
cap. 14. of all the Sects that ever were, none were so per-

* pernicious to the Church of *Rome* as the *Leo-*
 * *nists* or *Waldenses*; and that for these Reasons.

* 1. For their Antiquity and long Continuance,
 * even from the Time of Pope *Sylvester* (who
 * was made Pope in the Year 316.) or, as others
 * have affirmed, from the very Time of the Apo-
 * stles. 2. For the Generality of that Sect, be-
 * cause there was scarce any Country where they
 * were not. 3. When all other Hereticks, by
 * reason of their Blasphemies against God, were
 * abhorred, the *Waldenses* had a great Appear-
 * ance of Piety; because they lived justly be-
 * fore Men, believed all Things well of God,
 * and held all the Articles of the Creed, *only*
 * *they blasphemed the Church and Clergy of*
 * *Rome.*

But, besides these brave Champions for the
 Cause of Christ, others were at length raised up,
 who in their several Places contended for the
 Faith once delivered to the Saints, and against
 the Corruptions and Abominations of *Rome*:
John Wickliff, Divinity Professor in *Oxford*, was
 one of the first that distinguished himself here in
England; he translated the Bible into the vul-
 gar Tongue, wrote several good Books of Divi-
 nity, from which many received no small Light;
 The Council of *Constance* afterwards, not only
 condemned his Doctrine, but his Bones to the *Wickliff's*
 Flames; accordingly they were taken up and ^{Bones} burnt,
 burnt by the Order of Pope *Martin*, when he
 had been buried above forty Years at *Lutter-*
worth in *Leicestershire*.

The next considerable Persons that engaged
 in this Quarrel were *John Huss* and *Jerom* of
Prague; both of whom are said to have borrowed
 their Light from *Wickliff's* Lamp, by means of
 one of *Wickliff's* Scholars (*Peter Pain*) who, flee-
 ing into *Bohemia* for Sanctuary, took some of his

Hist. Huf. Master's Books with him, which the famous *Hufs* *fir. Lib. 1.* met with, and, as *Cochleus* says, translated into *p. 8.* his Mother Tongue. *Jerom* of *Prague* joined with him, and by their Endeavours such a Light was kindled in *Bohemia*, that all the Arts of *Rome* have not been able wholly to extinguish; and though the Council of *Constance* burnt both these holy Men at a Stake, contrary to the Faith of the safe Conduct granted them, the Death of the Martyrs was not the Death of their Cause:

Hist. Bohemia, cap. 36.

They died like *Christian Heroes*. *Enæus Sylvius* says of them, that they went to the Burning *quasi ad Epulas invitati*, as if going to a Banquet. *Hufs*, it seems, had a particular Mark of Infamy put upon him, as they designed it. They made a Crown of Paper with three Devils painted on it, and this Inscription or Title upon it, (THE ARCH-HERETICK); upon the Sight of which *Hufs* cries out, *My Lord Jesus for my Sake wore a Crown of Thornes, and shall not I for his Sake wear this Crown, be it never so shameful?* And it is said of *Jerom* of *Prague*, that when the Tormentor kindled the Fire behind his Back, he bid him make it in his Sight; for, says he, if I had feared the Fire, I had never come hither; and while the Fire was making he sung Psalms.

Martin Mylius A-pothege. Morient. p. 93.

I will only take notice of one Circumstance more, relating to the Death of *Hufs*, that, turning to the Prelates who were present on that Occasion, he expressed himself thus: *Centum revolutis annis, Deo respondebitis & mihi*. Ye shall answer for this a hundred Years hence, both to God and me. And some tell us, that he added, *You roast the Goose now, but a Swan shall arise, whom you shall not be able to burn, as you do the poor weak Goose*. Now *Hufs* in the *Bohemian* Language signifies a Goose, as *Luther* does a Swan; and just an hundred Years after *Luther* rises

rises up, and gives a deeper Wound than ever they had yet received, as it were, requiring the Blood of *Huss* and *Jarom* of them; and we know the Swan could never be taken, but dies in her Nest, after she had sung the glad Tidings of the Gospel to the last. This was, as I said, just an hundred Years after, and it seems an Accomplishment of the Prediction; for, as *Huss* was martyred 1416. *Luther* comes upon the Stage in the Year 1516. having received Light and Excitation from a Book of *Huss's* sent by some *Bohemians* into Germany.

How this great and good Man began, and went on with his Work, under the Protection and Encouragement of *Frederick* Duke of *Saxony* and others; and what Struggles he had with the Pope and his Creatures, is fully related by *Sleidan*, in his excellent History of the Reformation, whither I refer.

In England King *Henry VIII.* having fallen out with the Pope about the Matter of his Divorce, begins to favour the Reformation; he writes a Book against the Tyranny of the Pope, gets himself declared Head of the Church of *England*, next under Christ; denies the Pope's Jurisdiction in his Dominions, makes it Death for any to maintain it, discharges his Subjects from paying *Peter-pence*, *Annates*, &c. dissolves the Monasteries and religious Houses, as they were called; which appeared upon his Riffing and Dissection, to be the greatest Nests of Uncleaness, Villany and † Imposture the World ever

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saw

† The Blood of Christ at *Hales*, found to be nothing but the Blood of a Duck, is known; as also the *Rood of Grace*. one of their Juggles, came out to their no little Confusion. They had at *Boxley* in *Kent*, a famous Crucifix, that was exceeding courteous and obliging; it would sometimes move the Head, the Eyes, and bend the whole Body, to express the receiving of Prayers; and other Gestures were used at other Times,

saw: Nor did the Shrines of the Saints escape him; many of which were used with some Freedom, particularly *Becket's* at *Canterbury*, which was † enriched to a prodigious Degree by the mad Devotion of those Times. He strips the Saint naked, and finds other use for the Treasure than to adorn the Carcass of a dead Man; nor did he think this any more Sacrilege than tearing the Bark off a rotten Tree. It is said, there was among the Treasure one Stone, the richest in *Europe*, that *Lewis VII. of France* (coming hither

Times, to signify the rejecting of them. Great Offerings were made to such a wonderful Image. One *Patridge* suspected the Fraud, and removing the Image, he saw the whole Imposture evidently. There were several Springs within it, by which all these Motions were made. It was brought to *Maidstone*, and exposed to all the People there; from thence it was carried to *London*, shown to the King and his Court, and all its Motions performed in their Sight. Whereupon the King's Council ordered a Sermon to be preached at *Paul's*, by the Bishop of *Rocheſter*; wherein the Imposture was fully laid open; and after Sermon the Idol burnt. *Bishop of Sarum's History of the Reformation.* Part 3d. Page 132.

† *Becket* was extolled by our *English* Votaries, above most of the Saints in Heaven: They not only appointed him one Day in the Year, (29th of *October*) but the Day of raising his Body, or his Translation, as they called it (*July 7.*) was an Holiday: And every 50th Year there was a Jubilee for fifteen Days together; and Indulgence was granted to all such as would come and visit his Shrine; and in one Year, says *Sommers*, no less than one hundred thousand came to visit him. *Antiq. of Cant.* What Reputation he had with the Saint-Worshippers, may be inferred from the Account given of the Offerings made to the three greatest Altars in *Christ's Church*, which stood thus for one Year.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
At <i>Christ's</i> Altar	3	2	6
At <i>Virgin's</i>	63	5	6
At <i>Becket's</i>	832	12	6

But this was before the Saint was fully known, I suppose, and his Character established in the World; for the next Year the Odds were greater, and good *St. Thomas* carries all before him. The Account was thus:

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
At the <i>Virgin's</i> Altar	4	1	8
At <i>Christ's</i> Altar	0	0	0
At <i>St. Thomas's</i>	954	6	3

hither in Pilgrimage to pay his Respects to 'St. Becket) bestowed on him, which King Henry afterwards wore on his Ring. Several of the Popish Holy-days were also by *Cranmer's* Means abolished; they were so exceeding numerous, that he justly looked upon them a Burden to the People, a Lett to Business, and only serving to nourish Superstition, and keep up an idolatrous Regard to the Saints.

Little was done in Doctrine, tho' the good Bishop (*Cranmer*) earnestly endeavoured to have that reformed as well as other Things, and to purge the Church of the gross Errors that had crept into it: The greatest Step he could take to this Purpose, was to get the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the Creed explained, and recommended to the reading of the People. This was done in a Treatise called, *A necessary Erudition for any Christian Man*. It sometimes went under the Name of *the Bishop's Book*, and sometimes *the King's Book*, by which (tho' many Popish Errors were still retained, yet) a great deal of Light broke in upon the Church.

Some Attempts were also made for reforming the *Canon Law*. The Archbishop thought it highly unreasonable, since they had cast off the Pope's Power, they should yet retain his corrupt Laws. And therefore, the better to accomplish his Design, makes a Collection of certain Passages out of the *Canon Law*, by which he thought the Necessity of correcting and amending the whole would be manifest to all. We have this Collection in Dr. *Burnet*. Some † Particulars of

† He that acknowledges not himself to be under the Bishop of *Rome*, and that the Bishop of *Rome* is ordained to have Primacy over all the World, is an Heretick, and cannot be saved; and is not of the Flock of Christ. Princes Laws, if they be against the Decrees and Canons of the Bishop of *Rome*, be of no Force nor Strength.

of which the Reader may find in the Margin, Hereupon, by the Advice of *Cranmer*, an Act is past in the Year 1544. empowering his Majesty to appoint a certain Number of Persons, to examine the Canons and Constitutions of the Church, and to draw up such Laws ecclesiastical as shall be thought fit by the King and them, to be used in all spiritual Courts; and accordingly the Work was undertaken and brought to that Perfection, that it wanted nothing but the Confirmation of the King; and it seems, there was a Letter drawn up for the King to sign, but it was never signed, and so the Project in a great Measure miscarried at that Time.

It does not appear that the publick Prayers of the Church were yet † generally in *English*, tho'

All the Decrees of the Bishop of *Rome* ought to be kept perpetually of every Man, as *God's Word spoken by the Mouth of Peter*; and whosoever doth not receive them, they blaspheme the Holy Ghost; and shall have no Forgiveness.

The See of *Rome* hath neither Spot nor Wrinkle in it, nor can it err,

The Bishop of *Rome* hath Authority to judge all Men, and especially to discern the Articles of Faith, and that without any Council, and may assolil them that the Council hath damned. The Bishop of *Rome* may excommunicate Emperors and Princes, &c.

The Emperor is the Bishop of *Rome's* Subject; and the Bishop of *Rome* may revoke the Emperor's Sentence in temporal Matters. The Bishop of *Rome* may be judged of none but God only; tho' he draw down with him innumerable People by Heaps to Hell; yet may no mortal Man in this World presume to reprehend him, for *God may be judged of no Man*.

It appertains to the Bishop of *Rome*, to judge what Oaths ought to be kept, and what not. We obtain Remission of Sins by observing certain Feasts, and certain Pilgrimages in the Jubilee, and other prescribed Times, by virtue of the Bishop of *Rome's* Pardon. A penitent Person can have no Remission of Sins, but by the Supplication of the Priests. These, and such like, are the Canons and Laws of the infallible Church, all of equal Authority, as they pretend, with the Word of God.

† Dr. *Nichols*, in his Preface to his Comment on the Common-Prayer, Page 4. says, ' That, in the Year 1545. the King's Primer came forth, wherein are contained, not only the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and Ten Commandments, but also the *Morning and Evening Prayer in English*,
not

tho' some occasional Prayers and Suffrages used *Strype's* in their Processions, were set forth in *English* by ^{Memor.} the King's Authority, with a Mandate to *Bonner* ^{128.} to publish them: In this Form of Procession was a Litany, in which they invoked the *Virgin, Angels, Arch-Angels, and all Holy Orders of blessed Spirits*, all holy Patriarchs, and Prophets, Confessors, &c. nor were the Forms of Prayer then much changed. 'The Bishops, says Dr. *Burnet*, that were appointed to examine the ^{Hist. Re.} Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, made ^{form. p. 1.} such *inconsiderable and slight* Alterations, that ^{p. 129.} there was no need of reprinting either the Missals, Breviaries, or other Offices; for a few Rasures of those Collects, in which the Pope was prayed for; of *Thomas Becket's* Office, and the Offices of other Saints, whose Days were by the King's Injunctions no longer to be observed; with some other Deletions, made, that the old Book did *still* serve.'

Nay, such Protestants were they, and such a Reformation this, that the Bible, the only Rule of Reformation, could scarce get leave to show its Head. Indeed the King was for the Scripture in the vulgar Tongue, and often recommended it, and something was done this Way at several Times; but so unsteady was he in the Matter,

'not much different from what it is in our Common-Prayer Books; with a Preface to it, shewing the Necessity of Uniformity in Prayer, and of young Persons being instructed therein. In this Primer, the *Venite, Te Deum, the Lord's Prayer, Creed, &c.* are the very same Translation now used in our Common-Prayer Book. Some Time after this, the *Litany* was published in *English*, something different from what it is now, and permitted to be read in Churches on *Wednesdays* and *Fridays*. He adds, this was as much as could be brought to bear in the Reformation of Liturgical Matters during the King's Reign: And it may be more, for that they had Morning and Evening Prayer in *English*, is not owned that I can see by our Historians,

Matter, and so much Iwayed by Popish Councils, that the *Word of God never had free Course* in his Reign. By an Act of Parliament in the Year 1549. and of the King 35. all the Books of the Old and New Testament of † *Tindal's Translation*

Burnet,
Vol. I. p.
122.

† (Papists against translating the Bible) It may not be unacceptable to give a short Account of the Attempts made, to introduce the Use of the Holy Scriptures in the *English Tongue*, and what Opposition it met with, which I shall do from Mr. *Strype*, (Mem. of Archbishop *Cranmer* lib. 1. cap. 21.) He tells us, that, about the Year 1526. the New Testament of *Tindal's Translation* was first brought into *England*, being printed in some foreign Parts (he supposes at *Hamburgh* or *Antwerp*) but presently forbid by *Wolsey*; and soon after *Tonstar* and Sir *Thomas More* bought up the whole Impression, and burnt them at *St. Paul's Cross*. *Tindal* goes to work again, and reprints the New Testament about the Year 1530. which Year he (*Tindal*) was martyred at *Villefort* in *Flanders* (says *Baker* in his Chronicle) for translating into *English* the New Testament and Part of the Old, which, being sent over into *England*, was dispersed by his Brother *John Tindal* and *Thomas Patmore*, Merchants. But this could not be born, they must suffer for such Presumption, and accordingly were adjudged in the Star-chamber to ride with their Faces to the Horse-Tail, having Papers on their Heads, and Testaments tacked to their Gowns, which they themselves were to throw into a Fire made for that Purpose, and then to be fined at the King's Pleasure, and were actually fined Eighteen thousand four hundred and forty Pound ten Shillings and ten Pence, in the Years 1531. *Stokely* Bishop of *London*, caused all the New Testaments of *Tindal's Translation* to be burnt in *St. Paul's Church-yard*. In the Year 1537. the whole Bible containing the Old and New Testament called *Matthew's Bible*, of *Tindal's* and *Roger's Translation*, was printed by *Grafton* at *Hamburgh*, and was by *Cromwel* and *Canterbury's Means*, at the King's Command, set up in all Parish Churches. But this promised no Good to Holy Church, and therefore the Craftsmen cry amain against it; apprehending if this was allowed, (*viz.* a Bible in a known Language) *their Craft would be in Danger of being set at nought*; and by their Insinuations they prevail with the King to deliver it up to them; who accordingly put to Flight those that were concerned in the Work, seized the Books, and burnt them as *heretical*.

Notwithstanding this, thro' *Cromwel* the Vicar-General, his Interest with the King, the Bible was again printed: (For indeed throughout the latter Part of this Reign, sometimes *Israel*, and sometimes *Amalek* prevailed) and the King by Proclamation ordered it should be provided in every Parish, limiting the Price, and fixing the Time of procuring it; adding a Penalty of 40 s. a Month in case of Neglect. But in a Year or two, 1542-3. the Popish Bishops are in the Ascendant again, the Bible suppressed again, *Grafton* the Printer imprisoned, who was forced, for his Liberty, to give in 300 l. Bond, that he would neither sell nor print any more Bibles till the King

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lation (which is called *Crafty, False, Untrue*) are forbidden to be kept, or used in the King's Dominions; and tho' other Bibles were allowed under certain Restrictions, yet no Woman, nor Artificers, Apprentices, Journey-men, Serving-men, under the Degree of Yeomen, no Husband-men nor Labourers might read them.

So that it is plain, the Reformation advanced but a little Way in this King's Time, being himself in Reality *more than half a Papist*, as appears by sundry Passages in his *Will*, and from the famous *Six Articles* that were gross Popery, and upon which many Protestants suffered Death.

In King *Edward's* Reign more was done in this ^{Reformat.} Work, and the Reformation carried a great deal ^{under K.} farther; the *Bible*, that was hitherto looked upon ^{Edw. VI.} as a *dangerous* Book, was now encouraged and recommended to the diligent reading of the People in their *Mother-Tongue: Homilies in English* were set forth for instructing the People in the Doctrine of Salvation: The Clergy are allowed to marry; Images are taken down; the Sacrifice of the Mass is changed into a Commemoration of Christ, and Communion of his Body and Blood; the whole Common-Prayer Book is examined; and in all the Offices such Alterations made, as they apprehended the State of Things would at that Time bear, retaining still as much of the old Service as they thought tolerable; the whole, being finished and translated into *English*, was confirmed by an Act of Parliament in the Year 1548. This was the *first Book of Edward VI.* which afterwards was revised, and put forth with many

King and Clergy should agree upon a Translation; and it was now, I suppose, they procured the Order from the King against reading of the Bible in the Church, and for confining it to certain Persons mentioned above. My Author adds, *From henceforth the Bible was stopt, during the Remainder of King Henry's Reign.*

many Corrections and Improvements, and more refined from Tinctures of Popish Superstition, which was done in the fifth Year of King *Edward*, and is called his *Second Book*. The Psalms of *David* were turned into Metre by *Hopkins*, *Sternhold*, *Wisdom*, &c. and allowed to be sung in Churches; the Altars are changed into Communion-Tables; and in the Year 1552. the Articles of Religion were drawn up; the same in Substance with the Thirty nine Articles of the present Church of *England*.

Upon the Demise of King *Edward*, Anno 1553. his Sister *Mary* succeeds to the Crown; who, it is known, soon undid all her Father and Brother had done, and restored the whole Body of Popery.

Reformat. under Q. Elizabeth. Queen *Elizabeth* revives the Reformation, tho' instead of perfecting it, *carried it some Steps backward*, partly from her own Inclination, she loving State and Magnificence in Religion as well as every thing else, says Dr. *Burnet*, and partly in Compliance with the Papists, that she might draw them into the Church, and keep them easy there: Thus in the Service-Book Dr. *Heylin* tells us, there was great Care taken to expunge all such Passages in it, (*viz.* in King *Edward's* Book) as might give any Offence to the Popish Party, or be urged by them in Excuse for their not coming to Church. For Instance; whereas in the Litany there was a Prayer, *to be delivered from the Tyranny, and all the detestable Enormities of the Bishop of Rome*; this was thought fit to be expunged. The Form used in giving the Bread and Wine was altered; a whole Rubrick at the End of the Communion service was expunged, by which it was declared, that Kneeling at the Sacrament was required for no other Reason, than for a Signification of the humble and grateful

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Acknowledgment of the Benefits of Christ, given therein to the worthy Receiver, and not for any Adoration to the Sacramental Bread and Wine, there bodily received; or in regard of any real and essential Presence of Christ's Body and Blood: This was left out, as being too express a renouncing of Transubstantiation, and like to prove offensive to those they were so concerned to oblige. And to come closer to the Church of *Rome*, adds *Heylin*, it was ordered by the Queen's Injunctions, that the Bread should be made round like the Wafers in Queen *Mary's* Time, and that the Lord's Table should be placed where the Altar stood; that the accustomed Reverence should be made at the Name of Jesus, Musick retained in the Church, &c. By which Compliances, says he, the Book was made so passable. 283. that for ten Years the Papists generally repaired to the Parish Churches without Doubt or Scruple; Nay, it seems, that the Queen was inclined to Images in the Churches; the Use of which she thought might be a Means to stir up Devotion, or at least it would draw People to frequent them the more; and it was with some Difficulty that the Bishops and Divines of the reformed Religion Part 2d. on reasoned her out of it, as the late Bishop of *Salisbury* Part 397. tells us in his History of Reformation.

And this was the Length our Reformers came, the State Queen *Elizabeth* left the Reformation in. Dr. *Heylin* is wonderfully transported with the Beauty of the Church of *England*, as then established; and invites his Readers to behold it in the Glass he has prepared: 'Behold, says he, 'the Government of the Church by Archbishops 'and Bishops. These Bishops nominated and 'elected according to the Statute of the 26th of 'Henry VIII, and consecrated by the Ordinal, 'and

' and confirmed by Parliament, never appear-
 ' ing publickly but in their Roehets; nor offi-
 ' ciating otherwise than in Copes at the Holy
 ' Altar! The Priests never stirring out of Doors
 ' but in their square Caps, Gowns, and Canoni-
 ' cal Coats; nor executing any Divine Office
 ' but in their Surplice; a Vestment set apart
 ' for religious Services in the primitive Times,
 ' as may be gathered from *St. Chrysostom* and *St.*
 ' *Hierom.* The Doctrine of the Church re-
 ' duced to its ancient Purity. The Liturgy
 ' conformed to the primitive Patterns, and all
 ' the Rites and Ceremonies therein accommoda-
 ' ted to the Honour of God, and the Increase of
 ' Piety. Their Festivals preserved in their
 ' former Dignity, observed with their distinct
 ' Offices, and celebrated with a religious Con-
 ' course of all Sorts of People. The weekly
 ' Fasts, the holy Time of *Lent*, the embering
 ' Weeks, together with the Fast of the Roga-
 ' tion, severely kept by a Forbearance from all
 ' Kind of Flesh; not now by virtue of the Sta-
 ' tute in the Time of King *Edward*, but as ap-
 ' pointed by the Church in her publick Kalen-
 ' dar, before the Book of Common-Prayer.
 ' The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper celebra-
 ' ted in the most reverend Manner. The Holy
 ' Table seated in the Place of the Altar. The
 ' People making their due Reverence at their
 ' Entrance into the Church, kneeling at the
 ' Communion, the Confession, and the publick
 ' Prayers: Standing up at the Creed, the Go-
 ' spels, and the *Gloria Patri*, and using the ac-
 ' customed Reverence at the Name of Jesus.
 ' Musick retained in Churches, &c. To all this
 ' the Court was a good Precedent, where the
 ' Liturgy was officiated every Day; not only
 ' in the publick Chapel, but in the private
 ' Closets

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‘ Closet ; celebrated in the Chappel with Organs
 ‘ and other musical Instruments, and the most
 ‘ excellent Voices that could be got in all the
 ‘ Kingdom. The Gentlemen and Children in
 ‘ their Surplices, and the Priests in Copes as
 ‘ oft as they attended the Divine Service at the
 ‘ Holy Altar : The Altars furnished with rich
 ‘ Plate, two fair gilt Candlesticks, and a massy
 ‘ Crucifix of Silver in the Midst thereof, which
 ‘ last remained there for some Years, till it was
 ‘ broke in Pieces by *Pach the Fool* (no wiser
 ‘ Man daring to undertake such a desperate Ser-
 ‘ vice.’) And this was that Glory of the Church
 that we so much admired.

Some Review has been made of the Work at
 several Times, particularly of the Service-Book,
 as in King *James* the First’s Time, after the
 Conference at *Hampton-Court*, and at the Resto-
 ration of King *Charles* the Second, but little Al-
 teration has been made. Upon the latter Occa-
 sion, great Expectations were raised of some
 farther Reformation, in order to the uniting Pro-
 testants ; to which Purpose the King gave a
 Commission to several Divines, both Episcopal
 and Presbyterian, to meet at the *Savoy*, but all
 in vain. Dr. *Nicols* owns, ‘ That the Bishops
 ‘ being provoked by their Long-suffering, were
 ‘ not very forward to make *any* Alterations pro-
 ‘ posed by the Presbyterians, even in such Things
 ‘ as *might have deserved Consideration*, refusing
 ‘ them so much as the Change of *deadly Sin* in
 ‘ the Litany, for *heinous Sin*.’

Preface to
 Comment
 on Com-
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And having thus given the Reader a general
 Idea of the Reformation in its Rise and Progress,
 until it come to its present Settlement, I shall,
 before I dismiss the Subject, subjoin a few Re-
 marks upon it.

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I. It

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a good
Work.

1. It must be owned, that the *Reformation was a great and a good Work*. The Instruments employed in it deserve an *honourable Name and Memorial* in the Church of Christ: Generations to come shall call them blessed. The pure Doctrine of the Gospel is revived and restored; publick Prayers are purged from Idolatry, and celebrated in a Language the People understand. The five Sacraments of the Church are cast off; and only the two of Christ's Appointment retained, and these *in a good Measure* brought back to their primitive Simplicity. Instead of ridiculous Harangues in Commendation of the Saints, of Relicks, Images, &c. instead of endless Tales of feigned Miracles, which were generally the Matter of their Sermons heretofore, when they had any; the Doctrine of Salvation is communicated to the People in well composed Homilies, (several of them at least) which were appointed to be publickly read, until the Church could be furnished with Ministers capable of preaching, and fit to be instructed with that Service.——
But,

Reformat.
not perfect.

2. Tho' it was a good Work, *it was far from perfect*; nor did those that had the Management of it pretend it so to be; they laid the Foundation, and expected those that came after would build upon it. This they signified in the Preface to one of the Common-Prayer Books of *Edward VI.* and it is sufficiently implied in the Injunctions set forth by that King; in one of which the Clergy were commanded to teach the People not to violate the Ceremonies not as yet *taken away*. And with respect to Government, all Sorts acknowledged great Deficiency. The Ecclesiastical Canon drawn up in *Henry VIII's* Time, and revised in *Edward VI's* Time, never had

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had any Sanction to make them authentick : Afterwards indeed some were brought in ; the first in the Year 1571, and more in the Year 1597. In the Year 1603. the whole Body of the † Canons, and Ecclesiastical Constitutions came forth, as we now have them : But cannot be thought surely, by impartial Judges, any very sufficient Model of Church-Government and Discipline.

My Lord of Sarum, speaking of this Matter, History of Reformat. says, ' It has yet wanted the chief Force, for penitentiary Canons have not been set up, and P. 2. P. 407. ' the Government of the Church is not yet ' brought into the Hands of Church-Men ; so ' that in this Point (with respect to Government) ' the Reformation wants some Part of its finishing.' And elsewhere, touching upon the same History of Reformat. Subject, he says, ' The Reformation, tho' conducted with good Intentions and happy Begin- P. 3. P. 330. nings, was not carried on to the Perfection ' that was designed and wished for ; adding the ' Proviso, that had passed in King *Henry VIII's* ' Time, that continued all the Canon-Law then ' received in *England*, till a Code of Ecclesiastical ' Laws was prepared (which, tho' attempted and ' well composed, was never settled) has fixed amongst us many gross Abuses, besides the Dilatory

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† The Canons were never established by Parliament, but by the Prerogative Royal, and Supreme Authority in Causes Ecclesiastical, as the King himself (*James I.*) expresses it in his Declaration that accompanied them, Anno 1603. and the Title-page of the Book of Canons they are said to be published by his Authority under the Great Seal of England. So that all their Force, one would think, depends upon the Statute of the 26 of *Henry VIII. C. 1.* wherein the King is declared rightfully the Supreme Governor of the Church of *England*, and to have full Power from Time to Time to visit, redress, reform and amend all such Errors, &c. which by any Manner of Spiritual Jurisdiction may lawfully be reformed, &c. which was confirmed by a Statute in the 1st of *Elizabeth* ; but of this the Lawyers must judge.

‘latory Forms of those Courts, which make
 ‘all the Proceedings in them both slow and
 ‘chargeable. This has in a great Measure e-
 ‘nervated all Church-Discipline; a faint Wish
 ‘that is read on *Asb-Wednesday*, intimates a
 ‘Desire of reviving the ancient Discipline, yet
 ‘no Progress has been made to render that ef-
 ‘fectual.’

Memor. of
 Cranmer. p. 266. Nor can one easily imagine, the Plan of their
 Worship is what the first Compilers of it either
 desired or designed. It was not so improbable a
 Report, as Mr. *Strype* supposes it, that was car-
 ried about in *Frankfort* among the *English* Ex-
 iles there, viz. ‘That *Bullinger* should say,
 ‘*Cranmer* had drawn up a Book of Prayers an
 ‘hundred Times, (*i. e.* many Times) more per-
 ‘fect than that which was then in Being; but
 ‘the same could not take Place, for that he was
 ‘matched with such a wicked Clergy and Con-
 ‘vocation.’ It is certain, that good Man had
 projected and aimed at more than was done in
 other Matters, as may be inferred from his Let-
 ter to *Cromwel*, to get the Prebendaries changed
 into a more useful Institution. I am sensible,
 many of latter Times strangely extol this Perfor-
 mance, (*the Service-Book*) and some have the
 Weakness to insinuate, as if it was inspired. To
 which Purpose, we have frequent Mention of
 the Testimony given to it, by the *Parliament*,
 which confirmed it in *Edward* the Sixth’s Time,
 viz. that the Compilers drew it up *by the Aid of*
 Appar. the *Holy Ghost*. This is generally printed in the
 2d. Defen. most distinguishing Characters by Writers of that
 Eccl. Ang. Stamp. Dr. *Nichols* having Occasion to mention
 P. 9. it, (*viz.* the Compliment of the Parliament) gives
 it in *Latin* thus, *Sancti Spiritus afflatu inspirati*
& adjuti, inspired and assisted by the *Afflatus* of
 the Holy Spirit: But surely this must pass for
 rhetoricating, to say no more of it. It was a good
 Work

Work for the Time, and a happy Beginning; but, if one may say it without Offence, I cannot but think that those, who make it a complete Model of Gospel-Worship, and are for a *Ne plus ultra*, as if † it was impossible to improve it, do no great Honour to the Reformers, and less to themselves.

3. Now it is plain to a Demonstration, that the Reformers first Reformers had very great Regard in what they did to the Circumstance of the Time, *accommodating themselves to the Infirmities and Prejudices* of those they had to deal with. To reform all at once, says * Fuller, had been the ready Way to reform nothing at all; *New Wine must be gently poured into Old Bottles*. He adds, *Our Reformers began moderately, as the Subject*

accommodate themselves to the Prejudices of the Times.
Ch. Hist.
lib. 7. p.
374.

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would

* Some have gone so high in the Commendations of the *Service-Book*, (Abbot *against Church-forsakers*, p. 13.) as to say, that the Wit of Men and Angels would not mend it; and that it is a sufficient Discharge of the Minister's Duty but to read it. And Mr. Norris is said to have told the University of Oxford, in a Sermon before them, That they had a Liturgy so divinely composed, that if the Angels in Heaven needed Prayer, they might use it. The learned Dr. Beveridge, (Edit. 2d. 4to. p. 32.) in his Discourse of the Excellency of the *Common-Prayer*, goes pretty far. He extols the Prudence and Piety of the Reformers, for compiling the Book of Common-Prayer, so exactly conformable to the Word of God, and that Apostolical Canon, *Let all Things be done to edifying*. This, says he, I cannot but ascribe to the *same extraordinary Aid and Assistance, from God*, whereby they were afterwards enabled to suffer, and confirm what they had done with their Blood: And we have other Instances wherein Men in the Warmth of their Zeal, for that which they affect, have run out into such like Flights. *Spiritus affuisse sanctum appareat*: Thus Pope Leo complimented our King Henry the Eighth, upon his writing against Luther in Defence of the seven Sacraments, in a flattering Letter he sent him; telling him it appeared, *That the Holy Ghost assisted him*. And thus Archbishop Whitgift, after the Conference at Hampton-Court, where King James was Moderator, said, He was verily perswaded the King spake *by the Spirit of God*. But surely such Expressions can signify nothing, except it be the Transports of the Authors; and whether they do not tend to disparage the undoubted Work of the Holy Spirit (extraordinarily assisting and inspiring) may deserve Consideration.

would give them Leave; for as careful Mothers, on Condition they can get their Children to part with Knives, are content to let them play with Rattles; so they permitted ignorant People still to keep some of their *fond and foolish* Customs, that they might remove from them the most dangerous Superstitions. And the same thing is taken Notice of in a Letter to *Bullinger*, wrote by some of the reformed Religion here:

Dr. Burnet's Hist.
P. 3. P.
140.

Part 2. P.
79.

They tell him, That many Popish Ceremonies were still retained, have a new Signification put upon them; and that such Things, as were visible, were thought fit to be retained, to prevent Commotions; and for this Reason it was that the Sign of the Cross, as the Bishop of *Sarum* acknowledges, was still kept in some Part of their Worship (tho' most grossly abused in latter Ages) 'Because, says he, it was made use of among the People, to defame the Reformers, that they had no Veneration for the Cross of Christ.' And therefore to prevent the Mischiefs of such a popular Cry, they indulge them in this and such like Matters. As for Doctrinals, they might more safely and with less Offence proceed according to their own Mind and Principles; the Ignorance of the People being such, that they took little Notice of what was done this Way, provided *the visible*, sensible Part of Religion might remain with them, which they could not easily bear the Loss of; and no doubt, a Regard to these Prejudices of the People very much influenced our Reformers in the Measures they took.

4. Tho' all true Protestants in this Kingdom are exceeding thankful for the Reformation, according to the Establishment made by the Laws of the Land; yet there have been all along

long, and still are *some that have waited for*, and pressed forwards towards a more *perfect Reformation*. This we have Reason to think was the Disposition of some of those that began the Work, as before hinted, *Cranmer* was not the only Man who said, * 'That he confessed, ma- * Fateba-
 'ny superfluous Things ought to be taken away, tur multa
 'and that he did earnestly desire they might be detracta
 'changed for the better. oportere
 Superflua,
 & ardentibus Votis cupiebat ea id melius Correcta.

In King *Henry* the Eighth's Time, the Reformation was but an *Embryo*, the Day only began to dawn, and tho' all that wished well to the Work rejoiced when they saw the Foundation laid; yet it is known many of them were so far from being satisfied with those imperfect Beginnings, that they contended even unto Blood against what was then required.

In the next Reign, tho' the Reformation advanced a great Way, compared with what it had attained before; yet there were several chief Men concerned in it, that aimed at a more thorough Work; and showed themselves not a little uneasy at the retaining so many Popish Ceremonies and Superstitions. — *Fuller* makes *Rogers* and *Hooper* to be the Ring-leaders of this Party. He tells us, 'They renounced all Ceremonies practised by the Papists, conceiving, (as he expresses it after his Manner) that such ought not only to be clipt, but shaven with a Razor.' I might reckon under the same Denomination several Churches of foreign Protestants at this Time in the Realm, that have fled from Persecution in their own Countries, all under the Superintendency of the famous *John Alasco*. These as they had been acquainted with a more perfect Reformation abroad, could not but dislike some

Things in the *English Establishment*: *Alasco* declared his Sentiments in a Book he published, entitled, *Forma & Ratio totius Ecclesiastici Ministerii*; *An Account of the whole Order of the Ministry of the Church*: In which he spoke against *Kneeling* at the Sacrament, the *Papist Vestments*, and the like; and has been censured for his Freedom, as not becoming a Stranger, especially when received to Hospitality.

Under the next Reign (Queen *Elizabeth's*) the Reformers begin more visibly to distinguish themselves, and fall into Parties; many appeared dissatisfied with her Establishment, and with the State of her Reformation; apprehending they discovered so many *Nevi* and Blemishes therein, with relation to Ceremonies, Vestments, &c. as very much sullied it: Others, in the mean Time, stand up for the Ceremonies, &c. So that *Fuller* had Cause to say, *That henceforth one might behold in the Church of England two Armies with Banners*, and that *Non-conformity*, conceived in King *Edward's* Days, was brought forth and nursed in the Days of Queen *Elizabeth*.

If the Reader would have a clear and distinct View of these Matters, I must carry him as far back as *Frankfort*: He is to know then, that the Persecution raging here in Queen *Mary* Reign, several of our Divines left their Country. Some went to *Zurich*, others to *Strasburgh*, others to *Basil*, and some to *Frankfort*. Among those at *Frankfort* an unhappy Quarrel ensued, the Particulars of which may be seen in *Fuller*, at large.

Disputes at
Frankfort.

Church

Hist. p. 27.

The *English* Exiles, he tells us, came to *Frankfort*, June 24. and by the Mediation and Favour of one of the chief Senators, had a Church granted them; the Enjoyment of which was to be between the *French* Protestants and them, as they should agree among themselves, with this Proviso,

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Proviso. That they should not dissent from the French Church in Doctrine or Ceremony, lest thereby they should administer an Occasion of Offence. On the 29th of July, the *English* had two Sermons preached in their New Church; after which, they proceeded to constitute their Church, chusing a Minister and Deacons for a Time; and out of Conformity to the *French*, abrogated many Things formerly used in the Church of *England*, viz.

(1.) They concluded that the Answering aloud after the Minister should not be allowed.

(2.) The Litany, Surplice, and other Ceremonies in Service and Sacraments, they omitted both as superfluous and superstitious.

(3.) In place of the *English* Confession, they used another adjudged by them of more Effect, and framed according to the State and Time.

(4.) The same being ended, the People sang a Psalm in Metre, in a plain Tune.

(5.) That done, the Minister prayed for Assistance of God's Spirit, and so proceeded to the Sermon.

(6.) After Sermon, a general Prayer for all States, and particularly for *England*, was devised; which was ended with the Lord's Prayer.

(7.) Then followed a Rehearsal of the Articles of Belief; which ended, the People sang another Psalm, as before.

(8.) The Minister pronounced the Blessing, The Peace of God, &c. or the like, and so the People departed.

The *English* Church at *Frankfort* being thus formed and settled, rejoicing in their Liberties and Privileges, invite their Brethren at *Zurich*, &c. to partake with them; which they refuse on the Account of the Change made in the *English*

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pag. 10.

glisb Service, &c. signifying, 'They were re-
'solved *no whit* to recede from the Liturgy used
in King *Edward* the VIth's Time.' Those of
Strasburgh being also dealt with to join with the
Church at *Frankfort*, return Answer by *Grindal*,
in a Letter subscribed by sixteen, wherein 'They
'intreat them to reduce the *English* Church
'there, as much as possible to the Order lately
'set forth in *England*, lest by much altering the
'same, they should seem to condemn the chief
'Authors thereof, and give Occasion to their
'Adversaries to accuse their Doctrine of Imper-
'fection, and them of Mutability.'

During these Debates, *Knox* the famous
Scots Reformer comes from *Geneva* to *Frankfort*,
and is chosen Pastor to the Congregation there;
and since there had been Questions moved, about
the Alterations lately made in the *English* Service-
Book, he resolves to consult Mr. *Calvin*, and take
his Opinion in the Matter: To which Purpose he,
with *Whittingham*, drew up in Latin an Abstract of
the Liturgy, and sent it to *Calvin* for his Judgment
thereupon. *Calvin* replies, as follows; 'In the
Jan. 20. 1555. 'Liturgy of *England*, I see there are many tolerable
Tolerabiles 'foolish Things; by these Words, I mean there is
Ineptie. 'not that Purity that is to be desired. These Vices,
'tho' at the first Day, they could not be amend-
'ed; yet, seeing there was no manifest Impiety,
'they were for a Season to be tolerated. There-
'fore it was lawful to begin with such Rudi-
Fuller's 'ments or Abcedaries; but so that it behoved
Ch. Hist. 'the Learned, Grave, and Godly Ministers of
lib. 8. 'Christ to enterprize further, and set forth some-
pag. 30. 'thing more filed from Rust, and purer.'

In the mean Time, Dr. *Cox*, a Man of great
Reputation among the *English*; as having been
Tutor to *Edward VI.* arrives at *Frankfort*, with
several others, who presently showed their Dislike
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of the Change made by the Brethren there. Fuller says, that Coming into the Congregation, *ib: 1555.* March 13. with his Companions, he discomposed the Model of their Service, answering aloud after the Minister. And on the Sunday following, one of his Company, without the Consent or Knowledge of the Congregation, got up into the Pulpit; and there read all the Litany. In the Afternoon Knox in his Sermon sharply taxes the Authors of this Disorder, avowing many Things in the *English* Book to be superstitious, impure and imperfect; and that he would never consent they should be received into the Congregation. Both Sides stiffly contended for their Points; at length the Senator that procured them the Liberty of the Church, Mr. *John Glaveberg*, publicly professed, 'That if the reformed Order of the Congregation of *Frankfort* was not therein observed, as he had opened the Church Door to them, so he would shut it again.'

Cox seeing himself worsted in that Encounter, has recourse to a dishonourable Stratagem, and that was to accuse *Knox* of no less than high Treason against the Emperor, for a Passage in a Book preached many Years ago in *England*; in which, it seems, he should say, that the *Emperor* was no less an Enemy to Christ than was *Nero*. 'Strange! says Dr. *Fuller*, that Words spoken some Years since in another Land against the Emperor, to whom then *Knox* owed no natural Allegiance, should in this unhappy Juncture of Time be urged against him by Exiles of his own Religion, even to the endangering of his Life.' However, this Device had its desired Effect. The State of *Frankfort* (as an *Imperia* Town, concerned to be tender of the Emperor's Honour) willed *Knox* to depart the City, which he did, March 25. to the great Grief of his Friends. *1556.*

After

After the driving away of *Knox*, *Cox* and his Adherents carry all before them. *Whittingham* headed those that were for the Purer Form, as they thought it; but no Accomodation between them being expected, tho' earnestly endeavoured by *Whittingham*; (*Cox* refusing a Reference) *Whittingham* and his Friends flee from the Face of their angry Brethren and receive a Blow at parting, being branded with the odious Name of *Schismaticks*.

Fuller gives a List of those that upon this Occasion left, or rather were thrust out of the Congregation of *Frankfort*. viz.

William Williams, William Whittingham, Anthony Gilby, Christopher Goodman, Thomas Cole, John Fox, Thomas Wood, William Kethe, John Kethe, John Hilton, Christopher Soothous, Nicholas Pursote, John Escot, Thomas Grafton, William Walton, Lawrence Kent, John Helinham, Anthony Carrier.

When the Storm was over in *England* by the Death of *Queen Mary*, these *Fugitives* return home to enjoy their Religion, and assist in the Establishment of it, in their own Country; but as may well be supposed, bring their different *Opinions* along with them, which occasioned no small Dissention in the *English* Church; one Party zealously contending to reduce Things to the sacred Standard of the holy Scriptures, and the Example of the most primitive and purest Ages of Christianity: The other as zealously opposing them herein, resolving to abide by what they had done; & *hinc ille Lachryma*: Hence the Church was miserably torn and divided, the Reformation checked, the Glory of it sullied, and the Thing itself greatly endangered.

I'll only add, 5. Such as stood for a further Reformation acted with a different Latitude, and have met with a very different Treatment, according to the Temper and Spirit that prevailed in the Church in the several Times in which they lived.

Some

Some that were most pliable, and were for retaining the old Vestments, Ceremonies, Forms, &c. did not act from any Opinion of the Excellency and Sanctity of these Things, or that they were best in themselves, but partly out of Regard to Ceremonies retain; the first Reformers. Thus the *English* at *Strasberg* ed out of the Order set forth in *England*; lest, say they, by much alteration of the same, they should seem to condemn the first Reformers. the first Authors thereof, who, as they now suffer, so are they most ready to confirm that Fact with the Price of their Blood. They did it *Still-* partly out of Regard to the *Queen*. Dr. *Burnet* fleet unrea- in his *Travels* mentioning the Letters he read sonableness of Separat. at *Zurich*, that passed between *Bullinger* and several of our Reformers, (the Originals of which were laid up in the Archives there) says, 'It appears from those Letters that the Bishops pre- served the Things then contested, rather in Compliance with the Queen's Inclinations, than out of any liking they had themselves unto them.' Several that complied, and wholly conformed to the Rules and Orders of the Church, not only that at first complied with the *signified their Dislike* of some Things retained, but endeavoured all they could the Removal of them. Rules of the Church, *Jewel* presently after his Consecration * writes to dislikd them and endeavoured the Removal of *Peter Martyr*, telling him they were engaged in Questions about the Lawfulness of having Images in the Church; adding, 'It scarce could be believed to what a Degree of Folly Men that were thought to have a right Judgment of somethings retained. Things, were carried in that Matter: There was not one of all those whom he (*Martyr*) * Feb. 4. knew, that was drawn to be of that Mind, before 1560. Bp. of Sar. Hist. Reformat. *fides Cox*; he was told that it was resolved upon to have Crucifixes of Silver or Tin set Pt. 3. p. up in all Churches: And that such as would 290. not obey this, were to be turned out of their

' Bishop-

'Bishopricks; but says, if that was true *he would be no longer a Bishop.*'

April 1.

In the same Year *Sands* writes, he was pressed to accept the Bishoprick of *Worcester*, he saw if he absolutely refused it, the Queen would have been highly offended; but he found it more truly a Burden then an Honour. The Queen, he says, thought fit to have a Crucifix with the *Blessed Virgin* and *St. John* still in her Chappel, which some of them could not bear; he himself had spoken freely to the Queen about it, seeing the superstitious People plainly worshipped the Idol; but the Queen was so displeased as to threaten to deprive him; tho' since that Time she was more softened, &c. The Images were removed, but the Popish Vestments were still used, yet he hoped they should not last long.

In the Year 1562. we find great Struggles in Convocation about these Matters, and some warm Endeavours for the further improving the Reformation. To which Purpose several Articles were offered to the House. The first was,

Burpet Pt. 'That all Holy Days except Sundays, and the

3. P. 302. 'Feasts that related to Christ should be abrogat-

'ed; That the Ceremony of the Cross in Bap-

'tism should be omitted; and that for as much

'as divers Communicants were not able to

'kneel, during the Communion, by reason of

† 'Tis a 'Infirmities; and some also kneel and † knock

Practice of 'superstitiously, that therefore the Order of

the Papists 'kneeling be left to the Ordinary within his

at the Ele 'Jurisdiction. Again, that it be sufficient for

vation of 'the Minister (once) in Time of divine Service

the Host, to 'and ministring the Sacraments, to use a Surplice,

beat their 'that Organs be removed; Many protested

Breasts say- 'against any Alterations at all, and publick

ing, *Guilty* Disputation ensued. In Conclusion the House

Mea, which its 'was divided and reckoned; 43 Voted for the

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referr'd to here.

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Propositions and Alterations, and 35 against them; but when the *Proxies* were counted, the latter carried it by one Voice; so that, says my Author, they were agreed to by a Majority of eight of those that were present and heard the Disputations, but were out voted by a Majority of one Voice, a *Proxy* of an *absent Person*.

In the same Convocation, a Book of Discipline was proposed. Whether this was the Reformation of the Ecclesiastical Laws prepared by *Cranmer* and others, or what else it was does not appear, says the late Bishop of *Sarum*. He ^{Part 3d. p.} adds, that in one of his *Zurich Letters*, it is ^{304.} said, that some Things agreed to in this Synod were afterwards suppress'd, which he supposes relates to that Book of Discipline. Other Things were prepared for the Convocation: We have the Particulars at large in Mr. *Strype*, an Abstract of which the Bishop gives in his Work. *It was proposed that all Copes, Vestments and Surplices should be taken away; that none but Ministers should baptize; that the Table for the Sacrament should not stand Altar-wise; that Organs and curious Singing should be removed; that God-fathers and God-mothers should not answer in the Child's Name, but should recite the Creed, and desire that the Child might be baptized in that Faith: That the Queen and Parliament be prayed to renew the Act for empowering thirty two Persons to gather Ecclesiastical Laws, and to review those appointed in King Edward's Time.*

But all this came to nothing: The Queen, says Dr. *Burnet*, returned back to the Rules in King *Edward's* first Book; and being impowered by a Clause inserted in the Act of Uniformity, to ordain and publish such further Ceremonies and Rites, as might be for the edifying of the Church, &c. She pursued her own Inclinations,

Ibid. 306. nations, and settled Matters accordingly: Upon which, a great Diversity in Practice followed, as the Bishop of *Sarum* informs us, and yet many even of those that complied, did not fail to complain upon Occasion. Witness Dr. *Horn*, Bishop of *Winchester*, in his Letter to *Gualter*, July 16.

Our Reformers write to some Divines beyond Sea. 1564. He tells him in *England* they were still in fear of the Snares of the Papists, that the Act of Parliament that established the Vestments, they had no Hand in: That the Bishops had obeyed the Law, and they have Reason to think, had they deserted their Stations upon that Account, their Enemies might have come into their Places. Yet upon this there was a Division among them, some thought they ought rather to have suffered themselves to have been put from their Ministry than obey the Law, others were of a different Mind; he desires he would write his Opinion of this, as soon as possible. Sometime after *Grindal* joins with *Horn*, in a Letter to *Bullinger* and *Gualter*, in which they complain of the Differences among them, and solemnly attest the great God, that this Dissention was not raised by any Fault of theirs, and that it did not ly at their Door that those Vestments were not quite taken away; they declare they did not approve of that figured Musick, together with the Use of Organs that was continued in Cathedrals. They did in no sort approve of Womens baptizing; they gave way till God shall send † better Times, to the Form of making the

† The great Motive upon which several of them acted in their Compliance, was the Necessity of the Church: They saw if they refused or deserted their Ministry, such would get into their Places as would ruin the Reformation. *Grindal* often consulted *Peter Martyr* on this Head, whether seeing he was not left to his Liberty with respect to his Garments, &c. he should accept of the Episcopal Function. *Martyr* in one of his first Answers (Anno 1559.) tells him, since these Habits carried in them an Appearance of the Mass, and were merely the Remainders of Popery, it was, he said, the learned *Bullinger's* Opinion, chief Minister of *Zurich*, they

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the Sponsors answer in the Child's Name, for which St. *Austin's* Authority was pretended; but they did openly declare that they thought it was not convenient, nor did they approve of using the Cross in Baptism. For the Abuses of their Courts, tho' they cannot correct them entirely, yet they did openly inveigh against them, which they would continue still to do, until they should be sent back to *Hell from whence they came*: They had laboured in the last Parliament all they could to purge out all Errors and Abuses, which tho' it had not the desired Effect, yet they would not give over their Endeavours to bring it to a happy Conclusion, and with such Apprehensions ^{Some flood} of Things did the most eminent Reformers ^{ac-} out and ^{cept} of their Preferments, and continue their ^{would not} Service in the Church, ^{comply} *waiting and hoping for a* with the *fuller Reformation.* Terms of

Let me further add, As some complied that ^{Conformi-} did not approve, (which was the Case of several^{ty} of Queen *Elizabeth's* first Bishops) so there were
 F others

they were to be refrained from by *Grindal*, lest by his Example, a Thing that was scandalous should be confirmed. But *Martyr* said, tho' he was always against the Use of such Ornaments, yet he saw the present Danger, lest they should be put from the Office of Preaching; he further suggests, he might be an Instrument of getting them taken away, if he earnestly laboured therein; but if not, yet if he declined the Place another might succeed who would not care to have those Relicks rejected; (*Strype's* Life of Arch Bishop *Grindal*, p. 29.) but perhaps would rather cherish and defend them: And when at another Time *Grindal* intimated to *Martyr* how much many were offended at the Episcopal Habits, *Martyr* answered, he was to continue to speak against the Use of them, and that they might escape all Blame if they declared in their Sermons, (*Ib. p. 37.*) that those Garments displeased them also, and that they would use their Endeavour at one Time or other to get them laid aside. And we find seven Years after this (*Ibid p. 118.*) when the Bishop *Grindal* was debating the Matter of Conformity with some Dissenters taken at *Plummers-Hall*, he owned to them (they having accused him as going like one of the Mass Priests) that tho' he wore a Cope and Surplice in *Paul's*, yet he had rather Minister without these Things, but for Order's sake and Obedience to the Queen.

others that *stood out*, and could not submit to the Terms of Conformity at the Time. Dr. *Sampson* was one of these: He had been abroad with the rest of the Exiles, and it seems as he was coming Home, upon the Death of Queen *Mary*, receives Information that a Bishoprick was designed for him. Whereupon he writes to *Peter Martyr* (who was in great Esteem among the Reformers, and accounted the most learned Professor in *Europe*), and desires his Advice about it, telling him he scrupled Swearing to the Queen as *Supreme Head of the Church under Christ*; *Ibid. p. 291* he thought Christ was the *Sole Head* of the Church, and no such Expression of any *Inferior Head* was found in the Scripture: He thought likewise that the Want of Discipline made a Bishop that he could not do his Duty. The whole Method of electing Bishops was quite different from the primitive Institution, and the Consent either of the Clergy or People was not so much as asked, the superstitious Dress seemed likewise unbecoming; upon the whole, he was resolved to apply himself to preach, but to avoid having any Share in the Government till he saw a *full Reformation*. On the 30th of *May* he wrote again that a Bishoprick had been offered him, but that he had refused it, and desires *P. Martyr* not to censure this, until he knew the whole State of the Matter.

Anno 1559 Some Years after *Sampson* and *Humphreys* join in a Letter to *Zurich*, the Occasion of which was the printing a Letter from *Bullinger* and *Gualter*, advising not to forsake the Church on the Account of the Vestments. In this Letter they

Burnet Pt. 3. p. 310. carry their Complaints farther; 'They complain of the Musick and Organs, and making Sponsors in Baptism answer in the Child's Name, of the Cross in Baptism, of the Court

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Court of Faculties, and of paying for Dispen-
 sations. They do not think the prescribing
 Habits to the Clergy merely a civil Thing;
 they think *St. Paul's* *ἡσυχία*, belongs, to the
 Ornaments of the Mind, and how can that
 Habit be thought decent that was brought in
 to dress up the Theatrical Pomp of Popery?
 The Papists gloried in this our Imitation of
 them. They approved of setting Rules con-
 cerning Order, but that ought not to be ap-
 plied to this, that overturns the Peace and
 Quiet of the Church, in Things that are not
 either *necessary or useful*, that do not tend to
 Edification, but serve to recommend those
 Forms, which all do now abhor. They were
 not against retaining any Thing that was good,
 because it was abused in Popery. They affirm
 in King *Edward's* Time, the Surplice was not
 universally used nor pressed, and that Copes
 then taken away, are now to be restored. This
 is not to extirpate Popery, but to plant it a-
 gain, and instead of going forward, is to go
 back. It was known how much Religion the
 Papists put in the Surplice, and at this Time
 it is held in as great Esteem as the Monks
 Habits were wont to be; the Use of it may by
 Degrees bring back the same Superstition.
 They did not put Religion in Habits, they
 only opposed those that did, and they thought
 it gave some Authority to Servitude, to depart
 from their Liberty.

They hated Contention, and were ready
 to enter into friendly Conferences about this
 Matter. They do not desert their Churches,
 and leave them exposed to Wolves, but to their
 great Grief are driven from them. They leave
 their Brethren to stand or fall to their own
 Masters, and desire the same favourable For-

‘bearance from them tho’ in vain hitherto; it
 ‘was by other Mens Perswasions the Queen
 ‘was irritated against them, and now to support
 ‘these Orders, all that is contended is *that they*
 ‘*are not unlawful.*’

‘The ancient Fathers had their Habits, but
 ‘not peculiar to the Bishops, nor distinct from
 ‘the Laity; † the Instances of St. *John* and St.
 ‘*Ciprian* are singular; in *Tertullian’s* Time the
 ‘*Pallium* was the common Habit of all Christi-
 ‘ans: *Chysofome* speaks of white Garments,
 ‘but with no Approbation, he rather finds fault
 ‘with them; they acknowledge the Doctrine of
 ‘the Church was now pure, and why should
 ‘there be a Defection in any Part of our
 ‘Worship? Why should we borrow any Thing
 ‘from Popery? Why should they not agree in
 ‘Rites as well as Doctrine with other reformed
 ‘Churches? They had a good Opinion of their
 ‘Bishops, they once bore the same Cross with
 ‘them, and preached the same Christ with
 ‘them. Why are they now turned out of their
 ‘Benefices, and some put in Prison only for Ha-
 ‘bits? They tell *Bullinger* in the Close, they
 ‘do not dispute only about a Cap, but of very
 ‘important Things; and that he may under-
 ‘stand the Matter, they send him some of the
 ‘*Stubble of Popery* left with them, and then
 ‘they take notice of certain *Macule* or Blemi-
 ‘shes in their publick Prayers, and in the Form
 ‘of administering the Supper, of Musick, Dis-
 ‘pensations mentioned before; that Women
 ‘baptized, that the Sacrament must be taken
 ‘Kneeling, &c. As for Discipline they had no-
 ‘thing of it, that in the Government of the
 ‘Church they had many Footsteps of Anti-
 ‘Christi-

† *Bullinger* and *Gualter* had mentioned in their Letter, that St. *John* is said to have carried on his Head somewhat like a *Mitre*. St. *Cyprian* is said to have a peculiar Garment, called a *Dalmatica*: (To which Passages they here refer.)

Christianism; Pluralities, Licence for Non-^{Dr. Burnet}
 Residence, and that all Things were sold in ^{Part 3.}
 their Courts as formerly at *Rome*, &c.' ^{Coll. lib. 6,}

No. 79.

I have been the larger upon this Remonstrance of theirs, to show not only that some stood out, but upon what Account they did so, and also because these were chief Men, Brethren and Companions with the Bishops in Tribulation: Many more there were that followed the same Sentiments, tho' some kept further off from the Church than others.

However, Things were carried *with so much* ^{Great mo-}
Mildness for a considerable Time, that very few ^{deration in}
 comparatively separated from the Church. ^{Du-} ^{exacting}
 ring King *Edward's* Reign, we read of no Sub- ^{Conformi-}
 scriptions required either to the Service-Book, or ^{ty.}
 Articles of Religion: Nay, such was the Mode-
 ration then, that a Rubric of one of the com-^{Smeatym.}
 mon Prayer-Books left it unto the Discretion of ^{Rediv. p.}
 the Minister, how much to read, when there was a ^{10.}
 Sermon, and when they began with Subscripti-
 ons, the first was only to the Articles of Religi-
 on, agreed to in the Convocation, 1562. the
 Members of the Convocation having subscribed
 them, the rest of the Clergy were called upon to
 do it, and it is not like that many refused, or if
 they did, that they incurred any great Penalties.
 The famous *John Fox* the *Martyrologist*, being
 summoned by Arch-Bishop *Parker* to subscribe
 (as *Fuller* supposes) brings out his New Testa-^{Hist. lib. 9.}
 ment in *Greek*, adding, To this will I subscribe, ^{p. 76.}
 but refused the other Subscription, saying, I have
 nothing in the Church save a Prebend at *Salis-*
bury, and much good may it do you if you will
 take it away from me: Nor did they proceed
 against him for his Refusal, but he kept his
 Place to his Dying Day, as did also Dr. *Laurence* ^{Id. Ibid.}
Humphrey Dean of *Winchester*, and *Regius* Profes-

for of Divinity in *Oxford*, notwithstanding his Non-subscribing. And no Question, it was by the like Connivance that *Sampson, Lever* and *Coverdale* preached in *London* (tho' they wore not the Habits), as Bishop *Grindal* tells *Smith* they did, and exhorts him to go and hear them if he scrupled to hear others: And Mr. *Strype* says, that hitherto (*i. e.*) to the Year 1564. Uniformity among the Clergy in wearing the same Habits, and using the same Rites in Divine Service was neglected, especially in *London*, not a few rejecting the Orders of the Book.

Strypes Life of Grind. p. 116.

Ibid.

In the Year 1564. Conformity is pressed with more Zeal: The Queen complains in a Letter to the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, that many had taken a Liberty of varying from her Injunctions. Dr. *Burnet* says in this Letter (written *January, 1564-5.*) She reflected with some Acrimony of Stile on the Diversities among Ministers, &c. as if they were the Effect of his and the other Bishops Remissness, requiring he should give Orders to bring all to Uniformity throughout the whole Kingdom: Upon this the Bishops met, and certain Orders or Rules came forth; and on the 24th of *March*, according to *Strype*, the Use of the Scholars Gown and Cap, and the Surplice in all Divine Administrations was enjoined, and also the Use of the Common-Prayer, and Subscription to all this, or else a Sequestration immediately to follow, and after three Months standing out, Deprivation *ipso facto*.

Strypes Life of Grind. p. 97. Pt. 3. p. 306.

p. 98.

This occasioned great Perplexity among the Ministers; one *Earle*, Incumbent of *Milwads* in a Journal of his, says, 'Great was the Sorrow of most Ministers and their Mourning, for that they could not perform their Ministry in the Singleness of their Heart.' Many upon this were sequestred, and several turned out, as

Strypes Life of Grind. p. 98.

Dr.

Dr. Turner Dean of Wells, Whitehead, Allen, &c.
 Dr. Sampson Dean of Christ Church, Oxon; who
 was, as Fuller has it, *propter Puritanismum exau-*
toratus, deprived for Puritanism. Towards some
 of these great Rigour was used, they were forced
 either to leave their Country or go to Goal, tho'
 others found Favour and were connived at, at
 the Request of noble and honourable Persons,
 says Strype; and indeed long after this, when *Ibid.*
 Things grew worse with the Puritans, sundry ob-
 tained a Mitigation of the Terms of Conformity,
 and by special Indulgence kept in the Church.

Dr. Calamy tells us, he has seen a Subscription Defence of
 signed by fifteen Ministers of London, bearing Mod. Non-
 Date February 13, 1583. wherein instead of the conform. P.
 Form generally required, *That the Book of Com-* 2. p. 111.
mon Prayer and Ordination of Bishops, Priests and
Deacons containeth nothing contrary to the Word of
God, but may lawfully be used, and that they would
use that and none other; they declare ' That
' for the Book of Common-Prayer, they are
' content to use it for the Peace of the Church,
' or if they be found offending in any Part, to
' submit to the Penalty of it, and for the Ar-
' ticles of Religion they consented to them for
' so much as concerneth Faith and Sacraments
' therein.' Now upon Connivance in some, and
 such favourable Abatements towards others,
 many of the old Puritans kept their Stations in
 the Church.

But alas! that I must add, this Lenity and Conformi-
 Mildness was after a Time (when the *Theologi* ty pressed
Crucis, the Bishops began to drop off, that had more rigo-
 known what it is to bear the Cross) quite lost rously.
 out of the Church. The Queen's Inclination (as
 did her Successors) ran high for Uniformity and
 Ceremonies; and accordingly such were ordina-
 rily preferred that had the hottest Zeal against the

Puritans, and were most vigorous in pressing Conformity, by which Means new Laws were made, and both new and old more rigorously executed.

Subscription was urged more peremptorily, and Penalties inflicted on Refusers. The first Subscription was only to the Articles of Religion drawn up *Anno 1562* as hinted before. In 1564. Subscription was required to the Advertisements or Protestations as they were called which bore hard on many. In 1573. *Parker* was put upon urging Conformity, and to that Purpose the Clergy are required to subscribe to certain Articles, by which they approved the Articles of the Convocation *Anno 1562*. owned the Queen Head of the Church (or Supreme Governour); that there is nothing repugnant in the Book of Common-Prayer to the Word of God, and that the Preaching and Order of administering Sacraments in the Church of *England* is consonant to the Word of God. In 1583. under the Pontificate of *Whitgift* (who was a Man after the Queen's own Heart) the Matter of Subscription was revived, and three Articles were put forth, the first relating to the Queen's Supremacy, and disclaiming a foreign Jurisdiction; the third relating to the forementioned Articles of Religion; neither of which Articles were much objected against. The second was 'That the Book of Common-Prayer, and the Ordination of Bishops, Priests and Deacons, containeth nothing contrary to the Word of God, but may lawfully be used; and that they will use that and none other.' This he was not only to propose, but see punctually executed; the Queen, as the Lord *Herbert* tells us, having charged him upon his Advancement. 'To take care to restore the Discipline of the Church' and

and Uniformity in the Service of God; which, 'thto' the Connivance of the Prelates, Obstinacy of the *Puritans*, and Power of some Noblemen, 'was neglected.' And accordingly *Whitgift* goes to work, beginning with the three Articles referred to; and he followed his Blow to Purpose during his Power in the Church, making Havock of the Puritans, and haling Men and Women, committed them to Prison, and many were silenced by him: Dr. *Calamy* says, sixty in *Suffolk*,^{Defence of Mod. Non-Confor. p. 2. p. 111.} sixty four in *Norfolk*, twenty one in *Lincolnshire*, thirty eight in *Essex*, as appears from a Manuscript in his Possession; the Author of the History of Conformity, pag. 12. mentions the same ^{Small Pam. printed in 1689.} Manuscript as what he had seen, and gives the same Account, only says they were sixty odd in *Suffolk*, and adds the Number is not a few, considering, that in *Essex* at that Time, there was an Account of 163 Ministers that never preached, only read Prayers and Homilies.

Great Endeavours were used to avert the Storm, and if it was possible to appease the Queen and the Archbishop; many Petitions^{Petitions in Behalf of the Ministers persecuted for Non-Conformity. p. 13.} were presented to the Archbishop and to the Council; some by Gentlemen in the Behalf of the Ministers, some by the Ministers themselves. The Author of the History of Conformity says, He could fill a competent Volume of Supplications of this Nature out of a Manuscript in his Hand; several he recites, I shall only transcribe one in the Margin † as a Specimen. It was from

† *The Supplication of the Ministers of Lincolnshire, to the Lords of the Council.*

Forasmuch (Right Honourable) as the Lord of Heaven and Earth hath substituted your Honours next under Her Majesty to procure Passage to his Gospel, Beauty to his Church, and Glory to his Kingdom; in which Business of the Lord, to the great Joy of all those which pray heartily for *Jerusalem*, hitherto you have happily proceeded. We whose Names are underwritten, whom the Lord hath in Mercy placed over some of his

from the Ministers of *Lincolnshire* to the Lords of the Council.

And even the Council themselves became Intercessors to the Bishops for the distressed Ministers: ' They lay before them the lamentable
' State of the Church in *Essex*; that a grea-
' Num-

his People here in *Lincolnshire*, as Pastors and Preachers, to feed them with the Word of Truth, do humbly beseech your Honours, to regard the pitiful and woful Estate of our Congregations and People in these Parts; which being destitute of our Ministry, *by the Means of a Subscription* generally and strictly urged now of late, by the Bishop's Officers, do mourn and lament. It is well known to all your Lordships, that an absolute Subscription is required thro' the whole Province of *Canterbury*, to three Articles; the first concerning her Majesty's supreme Authority; the second to the Book of Common-Prayer, with that of consecrating Bishops, and ordering Priests and Deacons. The third concerning the Book of Articles. As touching the first, We offer ourselves to a full Subscription, as always heretofore we have done; as also to the Articles of Religion, and cannot be accepted herein, without an absolute subscribing to the other; unto which we dare not condescend, being not as yet many of us fully acquainted with the Book of consecrating Bishops, and ordering Priests and Deacons; and all of us unresolved and unsatisfied in our Conscience in many Points of the Common-Prayer. May it please your Lordships, also favourably to consider, that, in refusing an absolute Subscription, we do it not out of any Arrogance, but for that we have not sufficient Resolution, which we earnestly desired, of some Doubts about divers weighty Matters and Points in the same Book; which Requests of ours hitherto we could not obtain, we desired, that, in the least in our Subscription, we might make Exceptions of the Things whereof we doubted, which ' they have utterly denied us.' For which Causes, Right Honourable, we fearing to subscribe so absolutely as we were urged, ' we are all suspended ' from the Execution of the Function of our Ministry, among our People, to the great Danger of their Souls, and Danger of losing the Fruit of our former poor Labours, which we have by God's Grace employed upon them; wherefore we humbly crave of your Honours, our Cause being, as we are perswaded, the Lord's own Cause, and his Church's, that it may be considered; and that since we can neither be impeached of false Doctrine, nor Contempt of her Majesty's Laws, nor of refusing the exercising of the Book of Common-Prayer in our Charges, nor breeding Contention and Sedition in the Church: And again, since Papists, her Majesty's Enemies, with Atheists, to the corrupting of Religion in Doctrine and Manners, do daily increase; we may be restored to our Flocks and People in such Sort, as with all Peace of Conscience, we may go forward with the Lord's Work in building up his House in our several Places.

Subscribed by 21 Ministers.

' Number of zealous and learned Preachers were
 ' suspended from their Cures, whose Places
 ' were vacant, or filled with Persons of neither
 ' Learning nor good Name; they take Notice
 ' that many of the Cures were possessed by Per-
 ' sons unfit; for lack of Learning, or great Faults;
 ' being charged or chargeable with Drunkenness,
 ' Filthiness of Life, Card-playing, haunting Ale- *Fuller Ch.*
 ' houses, &c. They add, Against whom we hear *Hist. lib.*
 ' not of any Proceedings, but are quietly suffer- *9. p. 151.*
 ' ed to the Scandal of the Church, &c. Where-
 ' upon they earnestly desire their * Lordships to * *Archbp.*
 ' take some charitable Consideration of these *of Cant.*
 ' Causes, that the People of the Realm may not *and Bp. of*
 ' be deprived of their Pastors being learned *London.*
 ' and diligent, tho' in some Points ceremonial
 ' they may seem doubtful, only in Consci-
 ' ence, and not of Wilfulness.'

After this the Lord-Treasurer *Burleigh*, and *Ibid. 155:*
 Secretary *Walsingham*, importune the Archbishop
 to abate of his Rigour, and not pursue the *Puri-*
 tans with so much Sharpness, but all in vain:
 The Bishop is inflexible, and goes on with Vio-
 lence, driving some of them into Prisons, some
 out of the Land, others into their Graves. The
 famous *Cartwright* had no less than 31 Articles
 objected against them: and, not giving Satisfac-
 tion, was sent to the *Fleet*. Mr. *Udal*, a Man
 of considerable Account among the Puritans,
 met wit harsher Treatment, being arraigned for *Ibid. 200.*
 writing a Book, entituled, *Demonstration of the*
Discipline of Christ has prescribed in his Word,
for the Government of his Church in all Times
and Places to the End of the World, for which
 he was † condemned to be executed as a Felon. *Ibid. 222.*
 One

† Several were persecuted even unto Death in this Reign, for writing
 Pamphlets that were thought seditious, as *Barrow*, *Greenwood*, &c. *John*
Penry was executed for having an Hand in a Book wrote against the Bishops
 called

One notable Contrivance for the more effectual Discovery and Suppression of these Persons, was to examine such as they thought fit upon the Oath *ex officio*, obliging them to answer any Questions proposed, tho' they accused themselves: Thus Mr *Stone* was drawn in to discover the Meetings of his Brethren in *London, Cambridge, Northampton*; the Houses where they met, the Persons that met, with all their Debates and Proceedings in their Meetings.

Nor could any Applications from the greatest in the Kingdom prevail with the Queen and the Bishop to stop their Hand. The Queen was *semper eadem* in this Cause, stedfast and unmovable; or if she was in Danger of being a little

The Queen
and the
Archbp. in-
exorable.

Ibid. 174.

sofined, the Bishop presently remonstrates against it, and leaves her not till he sees her confirmed in her wonted Obstinacy; witness his Letter to the Queen upon the Parliament's passing an Act which he thought injurious to the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, 'He complains they had given Liberty to marry at all Times of the Year, *contrary to the old Canons*, which, says he, containeth Matter which tendeth to slander the Church, *as having hitherto maintained an Error.*' Upon the whole he concludes with humbly beseeching her Majesty to continue her gracious Goodness to them; and we find afterwards when the Commons petition the Lords for some Tenderness towards the Ministers; that they might have no Oath or Subscription required of them, but such as were prescribed by the Statutes of this Realm; that they might not be troubled

called, *Martin Mar Prelate*; and many others were condemned for like Faults; And it seems Things were carried to such a Height, that the Penalty of the Non-Conformity was abjuring the Land, or, in case of a Refusal, Death. (*Eliz. 35. cap. 1.*)

troubled for Omission of some Rites in the Book of Common-Prayer; that such as had been suspended or deprived for no other Offence but not subscribing might be restored; that the High Censure of Excommunication might not be denounced for small Matters; that Non-resistance be removed out of the Church, &c. The Archbishop flees to the Queen with a most pitiful Outcry, as if the Church was sinking at once, beseeching her Highness favourably to behold their present State, and what it would be in Time to come, *if the Bill against Pluralities should take any Place.*

Upon King James's coming to the Crown, the Hopes of the Puritans began a little to revive; they knew where he had been educated, and might remember what he is said to have declared in the National Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, viz. 'That he praised God he was 'King in so sincere a Church, a Church sincerer 'than the Church of *England*, whose Service 'was an ill-said Mass in *English*:' and sometimes he would boast of that Church as the *Morning Star of the Reformation*, which could not but encourage such as did not know him.

The first remarkable Application they made to him, was in a Petition called the *Millenary Petition*, as having a thousand Hands to it, tho' Fuller reduces them to seven hundred and fifty. It is too long to be here inserted, I can only give a very brief Abstract of it. After acknowledging Providence in his Majesty's Advancement, they proceed, *We the Ministers of the Gospel, not as factious Men affecting a popular Party in the Church, nor as Schismatics, but as faithful Subjects of Christ, and loyal Subjects to your Majesty, longing for the Redress of divers Abuses in the Church, could do no less in Obedience to God,*
 &c.

&c. than to acquaint your Majesty with our particular Grievs. Altho' divers of us, that sue for Reformation, subscribe to the Book; some upon Protestation, some upon Exposition given them; some with Condition rather than the Church should be deprived of their Labour; yet now we, to the Number of more than 1000, growing as under a common Burden of human Rites and Ceremonies, do, with one joint Consent, humble ourselves at your Majesty's Feet, to be eased and relieved in this Behalf; and then they descend to Particulars, and beg that the Cross in Baptism be taken away; the Cap and Surplice not urged; that Examination go before the Communion; that divers Terms in the Priest's Absolution be corrected; that Lord's Days be not profaned, nor Rest on Holy Days so strictly enjoined: No Minister to teach People to bow at the Name of Jesus; that the canonical Scriptures only be read in the Church. That none be admitted to the Ministry but able and sufficient Men; that Non-Resistance be not permitted; that Ministers be not urged to subscribe but according to the Law, to the Articles of Religion, and to the King's Supremacy only. That Men be not excommunicated for Irifles; but that Discipline be administred according to Christ's Institution. That Popish Canons be reversed; that the Oath ex officio, by which Men are forced to accuse themselves, be more sparingly used. These (say they) with such other Abuses, yet remaining, we are able to show, not agreeable to the Scriptures, if it shall please your Highness further to hear Us, &c.

Hampton-
Court Con-
ference.

Fuller, lib.
16.

What Effect this had is not agreed, it may be, tho' that is uncertain, it occasioned the Conference at Hampton-Court, which was this Year, 1603. and 1st of King James. between Nineteen on one Side (viz.) for Conformity) nine Bishops, eight Deans, and two Doc-

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tors; and four Divines for Non-conformity (Dr. *ibid.* *Fuller*, *Reynolds*, Dr. *Spark*, Mr. *Knowslubs*, and Mr. *Jer. Chaderton*) the King himself being Moderator; and he moderated so like a King, with so much Majesty, bearing so hard at every Turn, upon the four Ministers, that one need not wonder if they sunk below themselves in that Disputation; and that the King and his nineteen Seconds run down the four Antagonists. It is observed, the King, as he brow-beat them all along, dismissed them with Menaces, and told them, if they did not shortly conform, they should hear more of it; and that he would hurry them out of the Lands.

By

I have seen a Manuscript that gives an Account of this Matter different from *Fuller* (as also Mr. *Calderwood*) with this Title, *The King's private Conference with the Bishops and others concerning Ecclesiastical Reformation*. It was begun by the King and Bishops alone. The King having addressed them with great Affection, proposes the following Points to the Bishops, as what he desired Satisfaction in.

1. The Form of Absolution after the publick Confession of Sins.
2. The Manner of Confirmation of Children.
3. The Toleration of private Baptism to be done by Laymen and Women.
4. Many great Errors crept in under the Title of Excommunication, by the corrupt Dealings of Chancellors, Officials, and others.

Against all which His Majesty did argue and dispute at large to our exceeding great Admiration (says the MSS.) of his Majesty's not only Rhetorical and Logical, but Theological and Juridical Discourses; in the End his Majesty received good Satisfaction, tho' he was pleased for the better clearing of some Misconstructions here and there to order that some few Words in the Rubrick, and Titles of some of the foresaid Particulars, should, in the next Edition of the common-Prayer Book, be inserted, by way of Explanation rather than Alteration. This Conference was on *Thursday*, on the *Monday* following the Conference was held between the Bishops, &c. and Puritan Divines, the latter named divers Abuses, but insisted chiefly on Confirmation, the Cross in Baptism, the Surplice, private Baptism, kneeling at the Communion, reading of the Apocrypha, Subscription to the Books of Common-Prayer and Articles, Excommunication for small Causes; the Corruptions in the Bishops and Archbishops Courts, with the Oath *ex officio*, upon sundry catching Articles ministred unto the Preachers to entangle them. After that his Majesty having disputed in the *most excellent Manner*, and confuted their Objections, being therein assisted now and

Complete
Hist. of
England,
Vol. II.
p. 665.

By this Time, I presume their Expectations from their Morning-Star King would begin to fail; especially when *Bancroft* was advanced to the See of *Canterbury* (as he was this Year upon the Death of *Whitgift*) whom *Wilson* in the Life of King *James* calls a *Sturdy Piece*, adding what *Whitgift* strove to do with Mildness and Gentleness, *Bancroft* did persevere in with Vigour and Severity; and I leave the Reader to judge what Treatment the Puritans were like to meet with from such a Man, compared with whom even a *Whitgift* has the Character of *Mild and Gentle*.

The Book
of Canons
formed.

1603.

The great Engine, the Party that now had the Ascendant made use of, to batter down those that stood in their Way, (such as in some Things dissented from the Establishment, and would have the Reformation carried farther) was a Body of Canons formed in this Year's Convocation. They are in Number 141, the 36 of which concerning Subscription, I shall subjoin an Abstract of. 'No Person shall hereafter be received in-
' to the Ministry, nor suffered to preach, cate-
'chise, or be a Lecturer or Reader of Divinity
' in either University, unless licenced by the
' Archbishop, Bishop of the Diocese, or by one
' of the two Universities; and except he shall
' first subscribe these 3 Articles following, (*viz.*

Whit-

and then for Variety's Sake rather than Necessity, by the Bishops of *London* and *Winchester*, he dismissed them for that Time, requiring them to attend on *Wednesday* before him and his Council, and all his Bishops, to receive such Directions as he shall be pleased to give them therein. The Author of the MSS. concludes, with wishing that his Friend, to whom he sent the Account, had been present at the Conference, which, says he, in my Opinion, would have wrought in you as great Comfort and Joy as ever happened to you in this mortal Life; to see and hear *so worthy a King and Priest in one Person*, with so sacred a Majesty, to propose, discuss, and determine so many, so necessary, and so important Matters, so readily, so shortly, and so soundly, as I never look to see or hear the like again.

' *Whitgift's* Articles which we had before;) and
 ' to avoid all Ambiguities, the Canon requires,
 ' that the Subscriber set down both his Christian
 ' and Surname, and declare he subscribes to the
 ' Articles, and to all Things therein contained,
 ' *willingly and ex animo* ;' which was an home
 Thrust at the Non-conformists. Indeed no one
 can view these Canons, but must conclude they
 were framed on Purpose *to check and crush the*
Puritans : I will give the Reader a Taste of
 them.

According to these Canons, ' Whoever Can. 3.
 ' should affirm that the Church of *England* by Can. 4.
 ' Law established is not a true and apostolical
 ' Church; or that the Form of God's Worship
 ' in the Church of *England* established by Law,
 ' and contained in the Book of Common Prayer,
 ' and Administration of Sacraments, is corrupt
 ' and superstitious; or that the Thirty nine Ar-
 ' ticles are *in any Part* erroneous, he must be ex-
 ' communicated *ipso facto*, and not restored but
 ' by the Archbishop or Bishop after his Repen-
 ' tance, and publick Revocation of these his
 ' wicked Errors. Whoever shall affirm that the
 ' Rites and Ceremonies of the Church are super-
 ' stitious, or such as Men, who are zealously and
 ' godly affected, may not with a good Consci-
 ' ence approve them; or that the Government
 ' of the Church of *England* by Archbishops,
 ' Bishops, &c. is repugnant to the Word of 5.
 ' God, or that the Form of consecrating and
 ' making Bishops, Priests and Deacons, con-
 ' taineth any Thing in it repugnant to the
 ' Word of God, is to be excommunicated. 6.
 ' Whosoever shall affirm that such as refuse
 ' to subscribe to the Form of God's Wor-
 ' ship in the Church of *England*, may truly take
 ' unto them the Name of another Church not 7.
 ' established

11. ' established by Law, and dare complain of
' Grievances, or that there are within the Realm
' other Meetings, Assemblies, or Congregations,
' than such as by Law are allowed, which may
' challenge to themselves the Name of true and
12. ' lawful Churches; or that shall affirm that any
' Ministers or others may make Rules or Consti-
' tutions in Causes Ecclesiastical, without the
' King's Authority; or shall submit themselves
' to be governed by them; let them be excom-
' municated, *ipso facto*, and not restored, till
' they publickly revoke the wicked anabaptistical
' Errors. According to these Canons, the Mini-
' ster must admit none but such as kneel at the
27. ' Communion; none that refuse to be present at
' publick Prayers, upon Pain of Suspension; and
' as none must be baptized without the Sign of
' the Cross, with God-fathers and God-mothers,
29. ' so no Father shall be admitted to answer as
68. ' God-father for his own Child, nor be urged to
' be present; nor must the Minister refuse to bap-
' tize any that bring God-fathers, tho' *Jews* or
' *Turks*, unless the Children of the Excommu-
' nicated.'

These were some of the Laws, which, after so much Deliberation, and so many Years Contests and Struggling, were resolved upon, for the future Government of the Church of *England*, and perfecting the Reformation: I have nothing here to say to them, only to observe, That they were not made, to fill up so many Pages in a Book, and to be set up in the Church as a Monument of the Wisdom of this Convocation; but were diligently executed by the Ecclesiastical Commissions and Courts, to the almost utter Suppression of the Puritanical Party, who seemed now to have no Remedy left but Prayers and Tears. At first they petitioned for a Toleration, beg-

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begging they might have Leave to worship God without Impositions, and reform their own Churches, according to the Rule of Scripture; *Calamy's* but it was refused them; nor could they get any Defence, Shelter, (such was the Violence of the Times and Part 2. Fury of their Enemies) but were forced many P. 179. of them, with their Families, to seek Sanctuary in the Deserts of *America*; and to see if they could get Leave to breathe with a good Conscience, and sleep in a whole Skin, among the Savages of the other Hemisphere.

In the next Reign Matters remained much in *Laud* carries Mat- the same Posture, only carried higher when ters still higher. *Laud* came upon the Stage, and was fixed in the Sec of *Canterbury*: By his Means the Table was set. Altar-ways, railed in, and the Communi- Vid. Con. cants were obliged to come up to the Rails of the stitutions of Jesus, and kneeled: He required bowing at the Name 1640, in Sparrow. of Jesus, and commended bowing to the East; put down Afternoon Sermons; forbid all weekly Lectures; pressed the Observation of Holidays; and, which was his Master-piece, *the better to* Book of *promote pure and primitive Christianity*, secure Sports. the Reformation, *and confound the Puritans*, a Book of * Sports was set forth to be used on

G 2 Sunday,

* There had been a Declaration, May 1. 1618. giving Liberty to his loving Subjects, to use lawful Sports on *Sundays*, after Evening Prayers ended, put forth by blessed King *James*. One Occasion of this was, that his Majesty in his Progress through *Lancashire*, had taken Notice, that some Puritans and precise People, had hindered the People from using their lawful Recreations and honest Exercises on *Sundays*. Two Evils his Majesty observed this produced, obstructing the Conversion of Papists, and barring the common People from such Exercises, as might make their Bodies more able for War. The King therefore (out of his princely Wisdom) requires, that the Canons of the Church be observed, and that no Recreations be forbid that shall not tend to the Breach of the Canons of the Church. King *Charles*, his Son and Successor, walking in his Father's Steps, now takes occasion to renew and confirm this Declaration. This was sent by the several Bishops to be published by the Clergy of their respective Diocesses. Some complied, others absolutely refused; others having

Sunday, which must be published by the Ministers in the Churches; and several other Devices he had to torture the Puritans, which he did to Purpose, particularly in the High Commission Court, until he had forced a great Number of

* If they could, and low their Brethren to *America*.

One Stratagem it may be worth while to mention; he contrived † an Oath to be taken by Archbishops, Bishops, and all other Priests, *Never to consent to alter the Government of this Church*, by Archbishops, Bishops, Deans and Archdeacons, &c. as it stands now established, and as by Right it ought to stand. And if any Ecclesiastical Person shall refuse to take the Oath, the Bishop shall give him a Month's Time, after which, if he refuse, he shall be suspended *ab officio*; and after another Month's Deliberation, if he refuse, he must be suspended *ab officio & beneficio*; and if after another Month's Time to consider, he do not come to his Senses, but remain obstinate, he is deposed: And to make sure Work, all Masters of Arts, Physicians, Schoolmasters, &c. were obliged to take it. It is granted, these Canons were objected against as of no Authority, as well as on other Accounts; tho

Complete
Hist. of
Eng. Vol.
III. p. 102.

Laud boasts of the Unanimity with which they were passed; adding, I dare be bold to say, never any Synod sat in *Christendom*, that allowed more Freedom either of Speech or Vote, *Heylin* vindic-

ving read the Declaration, took Occasion to condemn the Practice. One of these, after reading the King's Declaration, read the Fourth Commandment, and in Conclusion said, You have heard what the King commands, and what God commands; whether it is fit to obey God or Man, judge ye. However, this Contrivance, as unworthy as it was, notably served its End; for by making the People *nothing in Religion*, it prepared them to any thing their Governors should please; and besides exposed the Puritans to the further Hatred of the licentious Rabble, for their Dislike of *so pious* a Government.

vindicates * them with great Zeal, and tells us, * Animad.
 that however some disliked them, they found on Fuller's
 great Approbation from others, particularly from Church
 Justice Crook; who having read over the Book Hist. p.
 of Canons, when it first came out, he lifted up his 234.
 Hands, (which one would not wonder at; what
 follows is more strange) and gave hearty Thanks
 to Almighty God, that he had lived to see such
 good Effects of a Convocation: But this I take
 to be no extraordinary Compliment to former
 Convocations; the best that can be said of them,
 is, that they did not last long, tho' it seems they
 were executed at first; and Fuller says, To his
 certain Knowledge some were made to take the
 † Oath that accompanied them upon their Knees.

† This Synod sat after the Parliament was dissolved, gave Subsidies,
 and enjoined Oaths, which, says *Ld. Clarendon*, it is certain it might not do.
 He adds, It did many Things, which, in the best of Times, might have been
 questioned, and drew the same Prejudice upon the whole Body of the
 Clergy, to which before only some few of the Clergy were exposed. *Clarendon's History of the Civil Wars*, Vol. I. Part 1. Pag. 148. 8vo.

What has past since the Restoration, and du-
 ring the Reign of King *Charles* the Second, I shall
 not here relate, only observe, that, after some
 ineffectual Endeavours about accommodating
 Matters in the Church, Things returned into
 their former Chancel: No Advances are made
 towards perfecting the Reformation, nor any thing
 granted to those that had so long insisted upon it;
 but instead of that, all the old Conformity, and
 Laws and Canons belonging thereto are revi-
 ved, with an Addition of some that were *further*
Grievances and Hardships upon the *Puritans*,
 now called NON-CONFORMISTS; particularly it
 was required of them, by the Act of *Uniformity*,
 that they declare their unfeigned Assent and

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Consent to all and every thing contained, and pre-
scribed in and by the Book of *Common-Prayer*,
&c. And, in the same Act, they must declare
for *passive Obedience* and Non-resistance; and
that it is not lawful, upon any Pretence whatso-
ever, to take up Arms against the King; which
Declaration was by the *Oxford Act*, 1668. re-
quired of them upon Oath; and yet, about
twenty Years after, the Nation thought them-
selves obliged to go quite contrary thereto; and
had they not done so, and taken up Arms against
King *James*, and those that were commissioned
by him, in all Probability we and our Posterity
had been Slaves, and the Cause of the Reforma-
tion ruined at a Blow. I will only add, by the
Oxford Act. the same Act, the Persons that had in their Day,
from the very Beginning of the Reformation,
been contending for greater Purity, *were now*
to be sworn against any farther Reformation;
which in effect they were, when they took an
Oath never to endeavour any Alteration of the
Government, either in Church or State: What
Hardships and Sufferings were hereby brought
upon these Men, is not forgot: By the first Act
above two thousand were turned out of their
Livings, without any Provision for them and
their Families; tho' Care was taken of the Po-
pish Clergy, that would not conform in Queen
Elizabeth's Time; and of the Episcopal Clergy,
when outed by the Parliament; (they having a
sixth Part of their Livings allowed them) but
these, as if they were Sinners above all that went
before them, must have *no Mercy*, but are si-
lenced with Disgrace, and, in a Sense, made to
wear their Faggot; nay, are banished five Miles
from any Corporation, or other Place where they
had been Ministers; by which Means they were
deprived the Kindness of their Friends, who
might

By the
Oxford Act.

might have been ready, in Requit of the Care formerly taken of their Souls, to have taken some Care of their Ministers Bodies. But it is Time to pass off this Subject, in which I have far exceeded my Intention. I have endeavoured to represent, as concisely as I could, how the Reformation was begun and carried on; with what Councils and upon what Principles it was conducted; what Rubs it met with in its Way, and what the present State of it is. Two or three Deductions from hence are obvious, with which I shall close this Head,

(1.) That there has been something of Non-Non-conformity, ever since the Beginning of the Reformation; tho' the Matter of it has been different, according as the State of Things in the Church has varied from Time to Time. In King *Henry the Eighth's* Reign, considerable Numbers lost their Lives for Non-conformity; because they would not comply with his Establishment of Religion, and with what he thought a sufficient Reformation, (*i. e.*) with a Sort of Popery. In King *Edward's* Time, the Popish Vestments, Ceremonies, &c. were the main Offence: *Hooper* could scarce prevail with himself to come into the Church, and accept a Bishoprick *on the Account of the Habits*, which he scrupled. The History of this Matter may be seen at large in * *Strype*. Dr. *Burnet* † sums it up in a few * Memor. Words; 'He refused, says he, to be consecrated of *Gran.* 'in the Episcopal Vestments (the Chimere, P. 211. 'Rochet, square Cap, &c.) The Grounds he † Hist Re- format. 'went on, were, That they were human In-Part 2. 'ventions, brought in by Tradition or Custom, P. 152. 'not suitable to the Christian Religion; that all 'such Ceremonies were condemned by *Paul* 'as *beggarly Elements*; that these Vestments 'had been invented chiefly for the celebrating

‘ Mass with much Pomp, and had been consecrated for that End.’ But these Objections were not thought sufficient. It was still insisted upon, that he must comply or be excluded, and the Contention was so sharp, that *Hooper* was suspended, and imprisoned in the *Fleet*. The King writes to *Cranmer* in his Behalf, moving that he may be dispensed with; and, on the other Hand, foreign Divines write to *Hooper*, blaming him for deserting so great a Post of Service (at a Time when the Church so much needed his Help) for those Scruples; whereupon he complies, having some Concessions made in his Favour, and is consecrated.

The chief Manager of this Controversy against *Hooper*, and Stickler for the Vestments, was *Ridley*, Bishop of *London*: But the Flames kindled in that unseasonable Debate, were soon after extinguished by those of *Queen Mary’s* Reign; whatever they were before, they now appeared good Friends, *when bound with the same Chain*: Several Letters passed betwixt them while Prisoners; in one of which *Ridley* thus expresses himself, ‘ Your Wisdom and my Simplicity have formerly clashed, each one following the Abundance of his own Sense; but now he assured him, that, in the Bowels of Christ, he loved him in the Truth, and for the Truth.’

Some scrupled others of the Ceremonies and Rites, as the Cross in Baptism, the Use of God-fathers and God-mothers, and their answering in the Child’s Name, Kneeling at the Sacrament, &c. Some objected against the Liturgy, and therefore instead of it, used the *Frankfort* Directory and Forms: Some used a Part of it, and omitted the rest; and some, it seems, used none at all. † Bishop *Bancroft* takes notice of one *Mr. Field*, that in a Letter to *Mr. Asker* tells,

tells him, that he preached every Sabbath Day, having nothing to do at all with the former Book of Common-Prayer.

But that which has ever stuck most with these Men, is the Defects in Church-Government, and Want of Discipline: 'The old
' Nonconformists, (says * one of the latter) * Mr. Baxter's Engl. Nonconformity. pa. 133.
' thought the Frame of *English* Prelatical Government, was far worse than all their Ceremonies, and other Corruptions set together,
' and that upon such Accounts as these, that the
' Largeness of the Diocesses makes Discipline
' impossible, and keeps wicked Men in the Bosom of the Church: All the Bishops that should
' be in the larger Diocesses are put down, save
' one, and the Parish Ministers restrained from
' the Use of the Keys: Secular Courts are set
' up under the Name of Ecclesiastick, and the
' decretive Power of the Keys put into the
' Hands of Lay-men, Pastors are set up over all
' the Land, without the Consent of the Flock,
' by the mere Will of Patrons.' And the same
Author † elsewhere speaking of the Exiles at † Life, Frankfort, says, 'One Part of them were for
' Diocesans, and the *English* Liturgy and Ceremonies, that they might no more than needs
' depart from the Papists, nor seem inconstant, in departing from what King *Edward* had begun. The other were for *Calvin's* Discipline,
' and Way of Worship, for the setting up a Parochial Discipline instead of a Diocesan, and
' to have a Government in every particular Church, and not only one over a thousand or
' many hundred Churches, and for a plain and
' serious Way of Worship, suited, as near as
' possible, to God's Word.' And this has all along (together with Subscription) been the chief
Matter of Nonconformity: This kept some of
the

the old Puritans out of the Church, and made others of them uneasy in it. They pleaded strongly for the restoring of Discipline, on which Account they were called *Disciplinarians*: And when they could not be heard, some of them endeavoured, in a private Way, to mend Matters among themselves, (tho' this was generally so offensive to the Government, as to bring them under Suffering.) To which Purpose, in some Places, a Number of them would, by voluntary Agreement, resolve upon certain Heads of Discipline to be observed in their Churches: Thus, at *Wadsworth* in *Surrey*, several entred into a Sort of Combination. *Fuller* calls it, *a Presbytery*, and says, 'It was the first-born of all the Presbyteries in *England*, and that eleven Elders were chosen, their Offices and general Rules agreed upon, and described.' Others say, the Meaning of it was no more than this, 'That the Queen and Bishops Orders extending no farther for the Trial and Fitness of Communicants, than if they could say the Creed, Lord's Prayer, and ten Commandments; some Ministers agreed upon a stricter Examination, and the People made choice of ten or eleven Persons to be present at that Action.' Several up and down the Kingdom attempted something of the same Kind, and particularly insisted upon the excluding the Ignorant and Prophane from the Lord's Table, which has been the unchangeable Principle of the Puritans or Nonconformists, and it seems was entring at the very Beginning of the Reformation, as appears from the ecclesiastical Laws compiled by King *Edward's* Commissions. One of which is, * 'That they will have

lib. 9.
pa. 103.

Hist. Con-
formity,
pp. 10.

* *Neminem ad mensam Domini volumus admitti, donec fidem in Ecclesia professus fuerit.* Tit. de Sacramentis, cap. 5.

'have none admitted to the Table, till he
'make Profession of his Faith in the Church.'

In short, tho' all the Nonconformists agreed
in this, *That the Reformation was imperfect*, and
that they ought to have gone further; yet *then*
and ever since, they have had a different Lati-
tude: I know not well how to represent this
better, than in the Words of *Beza* to *Grindal*;
he says, 'There was a twofold Opinion con-
'cerning the Reformation of the Church.
'First, of some that thought nothing ought to
'be added to the *Apostolical Simplicity*, and
'whatsoever the Church that succeeded the A-
'postles added to the first Rites, was to be abo-
'lished at once on the other Side, there were *Strype's*
'some that were of Opinion that certain ancient *Life of*
'Rites besides ought to be retained, partly as pro- *Grindal*,
'fitable and necessary, partly if not necessary, *pa. 113.*
'yet to be tolerated for Concord Sake; but for
'himself, he declares he was of Opinion with
'the former.' Now, as the Reformers acted
upon these different Principles, so they have had
some Influence upon the Nonconformists, One
Sort rejecting every Thing, that is, *besides the*
Rule, and that they thought a *human Addition*;
another Sort being willing for Peace Sake to
submit to such human Regulations, as are not **History of*
downright sinful, and do not grossly corrupt the *Conform.*
Worship, or exclude the Discipline of Christ, *pa. 9.*
so that these do not stand out so much upon Mat-
ter of Ceremony, (tho' * they would be glad to
have their Liberty here, and are against Imposi-
tions) as on other Accounts. † Noncon-
formists have acted upon the same Prin-
ciples, tho' sometimes in the Church &
sometimes out of it.

(2.) It is plain, † tho' the Practice of those now
called Nonconformists has varied in the several
Ages they lived in, sometimes you find them in
the Church, and sometimes out of it, *Yet they*
have still been true to their great Principle: Few
out of it.

or

or none separated in King *Edward's* Time, and but few in the Beginning of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign. Bishop *Bancroft* indeed in his dangerous Positions, says, that in the first ten or eleven Years of the Queen's Reign, *many* of the People separated, meeting in Woods and Fields, but they could not be many comparatively, nor does it appear they had any Ministers of Account to head them. Those taken at *Plummers-Hall*, seem to be among the first that met in any considerable Numbers: *Strype* † tells us, 'They wholly rejected the Book of Common-Prayer, and used a Book of Prayers formed at *Geneva*, for the *English* Exiles there: At those Meetings they had not only Prayers and Sermons, but sometimes the Lord's Supper administered, which gave great Offence.' But ordinarily they did not separate, not being obliged to declare their Approbation of the Forms and Ceremonies, and being dispensed with sometimes as to the Use of them, but at length when new Laws were made, and Subscriptions were enjoined, their Case was visibly altered, and so was their Conduct. This drove Multitudes out of the Church, and has kept them out of it until this Day.

† *Strype's*
Life of
Grindal,
pa. 114.

The old
Puritans
must have
been *Non-*
conformists
in our Day.

(3.) I think it evident that the old Puritans *that stood for a farther Reformation*; and yet did not withdraw from the established Church, would have been forced to have done it upon their own Principles, *had they lived in our Times*; for 1st, It appears from the former History, that they had much ado to go the length they did, and comply with the Terms of Communion then enjoined, they thought the Forms of Worship and Plan of Government *but just tolerable*, and submitted to it only to avoid greater Inconveniences. 2. They were excused from a great

great deal since required. The Act of Uniformity, I dare say, would have silenced the whole Body of them, unless they had renounced the Principles they had so often, and so publickly avowed. What would *John Fox*, for Instance, and such as he, have said to the Declarations and Oaths that have been since imposed, who roundly told them, he would subscribe to nothing but the New Testament in *Greek*? 3. They still lived in Hopes of having Things mended, and the Reformation carried on, and it was upon this View and Prospect that many of them kept in the Church, still bearing Testimony against Corruptions, endeavouring in their Place to set in order the Things that were wanting. It is certain, these could never have swallowed the *Oxford Oath*, that obliged them *never to endeavour any Alteration* in the Government of the Church, *i. e.* to have reformed any more. It is harsh, methinks, to say, the Oath only intended never to endeavour *unlawfully* (for nothing may be so endeavoured) and implies a Jesuitical Equivocation, by which a Man may swear to any Thing in the World: So that these Things considered, I think it needs no further Proof, that the same Principles which kept the *old Puritans* in the Church, *would have kept most of their Successors there*, and that the same Impositions that have excluded the latter, would have excluded them also, had they been tried with them. Once more, (4.) It is easy to collect from the foregoing brief Account of Matters, what the chief Defects of the Reformation are in the Judgment of these Men, and what they have stood out upon, and been contending for all along. They *would not have the Worship of God burdened with Ceremonies, that are Popish or Pagan in their Original, or if any will retain some of them as indifferent*

The Defects of the Reformation.

ferent Things, they desire they may be left indifferent, and not made necessary by a rigorous Imposition. They would have the Holy Scripture not only declared to be the only Rule of Faith, Worship and Practice, but used as such, and that no Laws should be made to exclude Men out of this or that Church here on Earth, who are manifestly according to Christ's Gospel qualified for Heaven, and willing to submit to any necessary Rules for Church-Communion. They would have Episcopacy, so much extended by papal Pride and Usurpation, reduced within the Bounds of Christ's Institution; and that those who bear Rule over People should speak to them the Word of the Lord. Or if superiour Officers be allowed with a larger Jurisdiction, and distinguished Titles, superintending several Churches, these should not deprive the Pastors of every Church of any Power that Christ hath intrusted them with, or that is necessary to the due Execution of their Office, nor be owned of divine Right, Bishop and Presbyter not being two Officers, but two Names for one and the same Officer, as was the common Opinion at the Reformation †. They join with their Brethren in the Acknowledgment they make every
Asth.

† The Institution of a Christian Man, set forth in King Henry VIII's Time, by Authority of King and Parliament, and compiled by a Synod of the Clergy, expressly says, '*In nova Testamento, nulla mentio facta est aliorum Graduum aut distinctio in Ordinibus, sed Diaconorum (vel Ministrorum) & Presbyterorum, sive Episcoporum, i. e.* That we have no mention in the New Testament of any other Degrees or different Orders, than Deacons and Presbyters, or Bishops.' And we find about this Time, several of the Bishops employed in the Reformation under that Prince, declaring the same Sentiments. Thus Cranmer to the Question, Whether Bishops or Priests were first? answers, 'The Bishops and Priests were at one Time, and were not two Things in the Beginning of Christ's Religion;' Burnet's Hist. Part 1. Collect. pag. 223. with whom concurred others of the Bishops, as is plainly implied in their Answers to the same Question. Ibid. pag. 393. Dr. Stillingfleet in his *Irenicon*, having given from the Original M. S. an Account of Cranmer's Judgment touching this
and

Ash-Wednesday, that there was a certain godly Discipline in the primitive Church, and heartily desire with them that it might be restored, and that Offenders against the Laws of Christ, and the sacred Rules of the Gospel, may be dealt with in particular Churches by solemn Admonition and Reproof, &c. and not be suffered to communicate, and buy off the Censure with a little Money. They would have every Thing managed in the Church according to the three great Apostolical Canons.

Let all Things be done decently and in Order, 1 Cor 14. 40

Let all Things be done to Edifying, --- 14. 26.

Let all Things be done with Charity. --- 16. 14.

And

and sundry other Questions proposed, concludes with this Remark ;
 ‘ Thus we see by the Testimony of him who was chiefly instrumental in
 ‘ our Reformation, that he owned not Episcopacy as a distinct Order
 ‘ from Presbytery, of divine Right, only as a prudent Constitution of
 ‘ the civil Magistrate for the better governing the Church.’ And that
 this was not the peculiar Notion of *Cranmer* and his Brethren at that
 Time, might easily be shown. *Cressy*, after he turned Papist, gives this
 Reason why Episcopacy took no firm Rooting in the Consciences of *English*
 Subjects, before *Laud’s* Time : ‘ Because, says he, the Succession and
 ‘ Authority of Bishops, and other ecclesiastical Orders received from the
 ‘ Roman Church, was never confidently and generally taught in England
 ‘ to be of divine Right.’ *Dr. John Raynolds* in his Answer to *Sir Francis Knolls*,
 who desired his Opinion touching the Difference between Bishops and
 Presbyters, tells him, that they who for these 500 Years have been industrious
 in Reforming the Church, have thought that all Pastors, whether called
 Bishops or Presbyters, have according to the Word of God, like Power and
 Authority : He instances in the *Waldenses*, *Marsilius Petavius*, *Wickliff*
 and his Disciples, *Huss* and the *Hussites*, *Luther*, *Calvin*, *Berentius*,
Bullinger and *Musculus*, and many Bishops among us, as *Jewel* and
Pillington, and many Professors in our Academies, as *Dr. Humphreys*,
 and *Dr. Whittaker*, and other learned Men, as *Bradford*, *Lambert*,
 and others, of whom *Fox* speaks in his Acts and Monuments, and he
 afterwards avers it to be the common Opinion of the reformed Churches
 in *Switzerland*, *Savoy*, *France*, *Germany*, the *Netherlands*, *Hungary* and
Poland. *Vide Dr. Calamy’s Defence*, Part 1. p. 88. I do not mention these
 Things as the Reasons of the Persons I am now speaking of, why they
 plead for Identity of Bishops and Presbyters, only to show how the
 Matter was apprehended at that Time ; and the Nonconformists have
 often given their Reasons why they concur in the same Apprehensions
 with the first Reformers.

And whatever Canons of Men made on Pretence of serving the first of these, ruin the latter, they esteem of no Authority and would reject: In a Word, as the Church, when it first had the Protection and Countenance of civil Governors, was very much changed in the external Form and Polity of it, in Compliance with the Model of the Empire (as was hinted before), they desire that in the Reformation of it they may not stop there, but bring it back again to Times of greater Simplicity and Purity. This in general, is what they have been long pleading and praying for. In the mean Time (to conclude with the Words of a very worthy Author)

*B. Burnet's
Hist. Re-
formation
Part 3d.
p. 331.*

*' They desire to adhere firmly to the Doctrine
' of the Apostles, and continue in their Fel-
' lowship in Sacraments and Prayers suitable to
' the Rules laid down by them, contending
' earnestly for the Faith once delivered to the
' Saints, improving all the Advantages they
' have, and bearing with all the Defects they
' labour under, using their best Endeavours to
' have them redressed, yet still keeping the
' Unity of the Spirit in the Bond of Peace,
' waiting for such a glorious Juncture, as may
' restore every Thing amongst us to a primitive
' Purity and Splendor, which God may perhaps
' grant to the Prayers of those that call upon him
' Day and Night for it.'*

*The Hist.
of Plots a-
gainst the
Reformat.*

But now I proceed to the principal Branch of my Undertaking, which is to give some Account of the Attempts against the Reformation, the Plots and Conspiracies of our Enemies to subvert the Protestant Religion ever since its happy Establishment in this Island, and of the many Deliverances and Salvations which God hath wrought for us.

I must cut this Work as short as conveniently I can, and therefore shall but touch upon some
Facts

ness

Facts that are most material, and direct to my Purpose, not pretending to a full History, and the better to introduce the Account I am to give, I shall premise three or four Things chiefly concerning the Papists, who have been the principal, tho' not the only Plotters. 1. That according to the Doctrine and Principles of *Rome*, the Pope, as Head of the Church and Vicar of Christ, is *supreme Lord and universal Sovereign of all the Empires in the World*, under whom the several Princes thereof hold their Crowns, on whom they depend for their Titles, and to whom they are accountable for their Administration; just as if what the Devil offered Christ in his Temptation had been made good to his pretended Vicar, *That if he would fall down and worship him, he would give him all the Kingdoms of the World and the Glory of them.* * *Zanchez* speaks home, when he saith, that by natural, moral and divine Law, we must believe that the Pope hath the immediate and only Rule of the whole World in Temporals as well as in Spirituals; all Imperial Authority depending so much upon him, that it is alterable, punishable or null, as he shall command, and this is what their Popes have actually claimed: Witness *Hildebrand*, that deposed the Emperor *Henry IV.* by the Authority, as he says, *given him by God, of binding and loosing, both in Heaven and Earth.* In one of his Bulls against him, he implores the Assistance of *Peter* and *Paul* in his Excommunication and Deposition of the Emperor; adding, 'That the World may know, that, as they have Power to bind and loose in Heaven, so they have Power on Earth to take away Empires, Kingdoms, Principalities, Dukedoms, Earldoms, and the Possessions of all Men.'

Popish Principles lead to Plotting against and murdering Protestants.

* Foulis Pop. Treasons, p. 38.

Bullarium Rom. Annot. 1638. Tom. I. p. 49.

And it seems they pretend to such Absoluteness of Sovereignty, that when they have a

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Mind

Mind to deprive any Princes of their Dominions, they may do it, *ex mero Motu*, purely because they will, and none may say to them, what dost thou, or, why dost thou so? Let *Bozius* be our
Foulis Ibid. p. 28. Voucher for this; Altho', says he, the King be lawful, and not only so but understanding, careful, powerful, one of the Pope's Religion, and godly too, yet can the Pope take his Empire or Kingdoms from him, and give it to another, *altho' there be no Necessity for so doing*; it being enough that he think it only convenient; nay it seems the Pope's Right is *inalienable*, he has neither derived his Sovereignty from another, nor can he give away any Part of it, and by special Favour place temporal Kings in a State of Independency upon himself: To this Purpose is that of *Augustinus Triumphus*, who, in a Book he wrote at the Command of Pope *John 21* (or *22*) says, that if we meet with any Emperors to have given any temporal Privileges or Lands to any Popes (as *Constantine* to *Sylvester*) we must here understand that they did *not at all give what was their own to give*, but only *restore* that which had formerly been taken from them, by *Tyranny and Injustice*; or if we read of any Popes to have given any such temporal Benefits, we must suppose that it was done more *for Peace Sake*, than really to give to others a true Title to them: The Reason of both these is, that the Pope is *Jure Divino*, without any Grant from Men, *Lord of all*; and this Right is so full and absolute as Christ's Representative, that he cannot transfer it to another, but all must necessarily remain his Subjects.

2. It is an avowed Principle of the Romanists, *that Princes by Heresy, or Apostasy from the Holy Catholick Church, meaning the Roman Church, forfeit all Right and Title to their Crowns*, and may be deposed whenever his Holiness pleases.
 There

There are indeed sundry Causes of Deprivation, Vid. Pet. Molnæus de Monar. temporal. Pontif. Rom. p. 100. as Dulness of Capacity, the diminishing the Privileges of the Church, Tyranny, or any other personal Fault, which the Pope thinks, renders Princes unfit for Government. Thus *Gregory II.* deposed *Childerick* King of *France*, absolved his Subjects from their Oath of *Allegiance*, not so much for his Iniquities, as because he was *Unprofitable*, says *Gratian*, not for Insufficiency, says the *Gloss*, but because he was dissolute and effeminate.

But the *main Cause* is *Heresy*. 'Princes, de Roman Pontif. l. 5. cap. 7. says *Bellarmino*, are received into the Church with an express or *Tacit Compact*, that they shall submit their Sceptres unto Christ, defend and preserve the Faith under the Penalty of forfeiting their Crowns; therefore if once they fall into *Heresy*, or turn Enemies to Religion, *they may be judged by the Church*, and deposed without any Injury to them.' And *Vasquez* determines to the same Purpose, 'That Foulis's Po- pish Treas. p. 39. it is in the Pope's Power to punish Princes, and that the Crime of *Heresy* is of such Force, that no Hereticks are capable of Rule, so that the Kingdom must chuse some Body else, viz. him whom the Pope may assign; and if they refuse, he may bring him in, by Force of Arms.' *Raymund* carries the Matter somewhat further; he says, 'A Prince may be excommunicated and deposed by the Pope, not only for *Heresy*, but if he be negligent to extirpate *Heresy*, which is but agreeable to the Decree of the *Lateran Council*, which they call general, mentioned before. Indeed *Heresy* according to them, deprives Sovereigns and Subjects too of their Rights, Claims, Enjoyments, and leaves those that are charged with it to the Mercy of Catholics, who by divine Right become Lords

over them and all they enjoy; so says the famous *Lateran Council*; 'The Goods of Hereticks are *ipso facto*, and immediately confiscated, they have no further Right to them, nor can they with a good Conscience retain them.'

3. As *Hereticks* are by Law and Right deprived of all they have, the Pope can authorize the *Orthodox Members* of the Church, i. e. his own Subjects to take Possession; and whatever Means are necessary thereunto, he can legitimate and make lawful, as poisoning, assassinating, blowing up with Gun-powder, &c. It is an approved Thing among them, a Case deliberately determined by the infallible Head of the Church, that killing of Kings and Queens excommunicated by the Pope is no Murder, nay that it is meritorious to destroy Hereticks, which was the Argument *Walpole* the *English Jesuit* used with *Squire* to persuade him to kill Queen *Elizabeth*, which he told him might easily be done, by poisoning the Pomel of her Saddle: *Squire* is drawn to undertake the Fact, the Jesuit † blesses him, and pro-

Vid. *Bullum*, Greg. XIII. 1st of July 1580.

† As they encourage the Murder of such Princes as they call *Hereticks*, so they have a solemn Form of preparing an Assassin for his Undertaking, which, tho' somewhat long, I shall be excused if I here insert. The Person designed for the Work is secretly introduced into the Meditory or Oratory: There a Knife wrapped up in Linen is taken out of an Ivory Case, marked all round with various Characters, together with an *Agnus Dei*. Upon this, as it is drawn out of the Sheath, they drop Holy Water, and hang consecrated coral Beads upon the Haft, granting an Indulgence of delivering as many Souls out of Purgatory, as he shall give Wounds to the Prince whom they design to assassinate: Then they put the Knife into the Hand of the *Paricide*, recommending it in these Words, 'Elect Son of God, take this Sword of *Jephthah*, the Sword of *Sampson*, the Sword of *David*, with which he cut off *Goliath's* Head, the Sword of *Gideon*, the Sword of *Judith*, the Sword of the *Maccabees*, the Sword of the Pope, by which he has delivered himself from the Hands of Princes, having spilt very much Blood in their Dominions: Go and be prudently courageous, may God strengthen thy Arm.' This being done, they all fall down upon their Knees, and the Chief of them pronounces this Exorcism: 'Be present, ye Cherubim, be pre-

pre-

promises him eternal Salvation, and so having sworn him to Secrecy, sends him to *England*, where he was taken, confessed his villanous Design, and was executed in the Year 1598. *Cambden* that relates this Passage further adds, that a *Hist. of Q. Elizabeth.* pestilent Opinion was got among the Papists, that to take away Kings excommunicate, was nothing else but to weed the Cockle out of the Lord's Field: And the same Consideration was laid before *Parry*, another Tool engaged in the like Enterprize, viz. to kill the Queen. He receives a Letter from Cardinal *Como*, in which he tells him, *That his Holiness commended his*

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‘ present, Seraphim, ye Thrones, ye Powers, be present, ye holy Angels, and
 ‘ fill this blessed Vessel with perpetual Glory, and every Day offer him the
 ‘ Crown of the blessed *Virgin Mary*, of the holy Patriarchs and Martyrs;
 ‘ he is no longer a Member of our Communion, but yours: And thou, O God,
 ‘ who art terrible and invincible, and who in the Meditory halt put it into his
 ‘ Heart to destroy a Tyrant and Heretick, and confer his Crown on a Catholick
 ‘ King, strengthen, we beseech thee, his Hands, and encrease his Courage, that
 ‘ he may accomplish his Will, give him an Omnipotent Mail whereby he may
 ‘ escape the Hands of those who would apprehend him, give him Wings, by
 ‘ which his holy Members may escape the Endeavours of barbarous Betrayers,
 ‘ pour into his Soul thy cheering Rays, by which his Body, without Fear, in
 ‘ the Midst of Dangers and Tortures, may be animated with Joy and Exulta-
 ‘ tion. After this Exorcism, the Parricide is brought before the Altar, over
 ‘ which is painted the History of *Jaques Clement*, a *Dominican Monk*, with the
 ‘ Images of Angels protecting him, and carrying him to Heaven. This the Je-
 ‘ suits show him, and withal, present him an heavenly Crown, saying, ‘ Regard,
 ‘ O Lord, this thine Arm, and the Executor of thy Justice, let all thy Saints
 ‘ arise and give him Place.’ After these Ceremonies four Jesuits are deputed
 to talk with the *Parricide* alone, these during their Discourse, are wont often
 to say, that there appears in him a divine Sort of Brightness, by the Radiancy
 of which they are moved to kiss his Hands and Feet, and that he no longer
 seems to them to be a Man, but a heavenly Saint; they pretend also to
 envy the great Glory and Blessedness to which he is now advanced, sighing,
 and saying ‘ Would to God I had been chosen in thy Room, that being de-
 ‘ livered from the Punishment of Purgatory, I might have gone directly to Pa-
 ‘ radise:’ But if he whom they judge proper to perpetrate the Murder be
 backwards and reluctant, then they either force him to make such a Vow
 by nightly Bugbears, and monstrous Spectres, or animate and introduce
 him to the Enterprize, by contriving Apparitions of the *Virgin Mary*, or
 Angels, or other Saints, and sometimes of *Ignatius* and his Followers.

good Resolution and Disposition that he had towards the common Good, exhorts him to persevere and bring to Effect what he had promised, and that he might be the more assisted by the good Spirit which had moved him thereto, his Holiness granted unto him his Blessing, plenary Indulgence and Remission of all Sin, assuring him that besides the Merit he should receive in Heaven for so doing, his Holiness will make himself Debtor to him on Earth, &c. What Influence this had upon the Wretch, we may learn from his own Confession; *The Enterprize* says, he, commended and allowed and my self absolved in his Holiness's Name of all my Sins, and willed to go forward in the Name of God, it confirmed my Resolution to kill her, and made it † clear in my Conscience, that it was lawful and meritorious.

† Such is the Delusion of these Mens Consciences, that they believe cheating and murdering Protestants meritorious, or rather that to deprive them of Goods and Life, is not Cheating and Murder; many of the Irish Cut-Throats were encouraged by the same Consideration that influenced Parry. The Priests gave some of them the Sacrament upon Condition they should neither spare Man, Woman, nor Child of the Protestants; and the Day before the Massacre began, it is said, the Priests dismissed the People from Mass, with Power and Exhortation too, given to go forth, strip, spoil, &c. their Protestant Neighbours, being assured it was *no more Sin to kill a Protestant than a Dog*, nay, to kill such was meritorious, and a rare Preservative against the Pains of Purgatory, which did not a little enliven the cruel Zeal of the Murderers; some of them were heard to say after they had been busy slaughtering Hereticks, *That they knew if they should die presently they should go straight to Heaven*: Some prevailed with the Protestants that hid their best Goods, to discover them to them, promising their Protection, and when they had done, seized the Goods and murdered the Persons; and all this they can do, *plaudente conscientia*, expecting after so much Villany in this World, a Reward in the next.

Not is the rankest Dissimulation, Lying, Treachery or Forgery deemed a Sin, if it tend to the Service of the Church; witness the *Paris-Massacre*, a Thing infamous to the last Degree with all but Men of those Principles, where many

many Thousands of the *Hugonots* being invited to the King of *Navar*'s Marriage, were, in the Midst of Caresses and all imaginable Assurances of Friendship, barbarously murdered by the *French King*'s express Order. Here fell the great *Coligni* Admiral of *France*, butchered by the basest *Ruffians*, who having rudely insulted his naked Body, cut off his Head, and sent it as a Present to *Rome*, where it was received with great Demonstrations of Joy: The Messenger that brought the first News of the monstrous Fact, had the Reward given him of 1000 Crowns, the Letter was read in the *Conclave*, their Churches resounded with *Te Deum*, the Cannons discharged, Bonfires made, a Jubilee published throughout all *Christendom*, a Grand Procession was undertaken to the Church of *St. Lewis*, where *Ibid. p. 324* was the Nobility, Bishops, Cardinals, several Embassadors, the Pope himself under a Canopy, his Train being held up by the Emperor's Embassador; and the better to retain in Memory this glorious Fact, the Pope had it painted about his great Hall in the *Lateran* and there recorded in Marble.

So that we see the Latitude of holy Church in these Matters, and upon what Terms Protestants stand with them. The Service of the Church is their supreme Law; *The Church, The Church is the Word*, which, like the Philosophers Stone, turns all into Gold it touches; it can change the Nature of Things, and make an Action, that in the Judgment of all the rest of the World deserves a Halter, merit a Canonization, a Title to greater Honours here on Earth, and a brighter Crown in Heaven: The good End they have sanctifies the Means, and what the Apostle rejects with Abhorrence as a Slander upon them, that they should say, *Let us do*

Evil that Good may come of it; these Men easily admit the destroying Hereticks and promoting the Catholick Cause, will justify any Thing, tho' of the blackest Nature, especially if it gain the Pope's Approbation and Blessing.

I might take notice of the strange Boldness with which they sometimes act in their Zeal for Holy Church, and against those they call Hereticks, they will face the most terrible Death, and cheerfully sacrifice themselves to advance their Cause. Instances of this Kind are common; the late Bishop of *Sarum* tells us, the Primate of *Ireland*, *Goodacre*, that was concerned in the Reformation there was poisoned by a Monk (in a Popish House where he was invited), that drank to him in a poisoned Liquor of which they both died. My Author says, he had this from a worthy Clergyman not far from *Salisbury* of that Family, being the fourth in Descent from the Primate.

Hist. Reformation
Part III.
p. 260.

4. These being the Principles of that horrid Faction of Men that call themselves the Holy Catholick Church, they having set one at the Head of them with a Fulness of Power over all the World, and having disputed Hereticks (*i. e.* all the Christians on Earth that refuse to submit to their Usurpations) out of all Possessions, and deprived them of all Rights; the pretended Head of the Church, and Lord of the World, has often, agreeable to such Principles, exerted himself, thundered out Anathema's and Curses against Princes, and consigned their Kingdoms to utter Destruction; he has particularly done it towards us in these Kingdoms once and again; and that the Curse is not come, is neither owing to their Mercy nor our Merit, but purely to the kind Providence of God that has been a Shield for us and a Refuge from the Storm.

No sooner did King *Henry VIII.* break with the *The Pope* *Pope*, and begin to encourage Heresy, but after excommu-
 Admonition the Pope (*Paul III.*) excommunicates, ^{nicates}
 curses, deposes, damns him in a Bull published *Hen. VIII.*
 at *Rome* in the Year 1535. (or threatned then
 and executed three Years after.) It will take
 up too much Room, or I should, for the Sake of
 some Readers, have translated it and given it at
 large : It begins with laying the Foundation of
 his high and mighty Power in that of the Pro-
 phet *Jeremiah* ; *Behold, I have set thee over Na-Jer. i. 19.*
tions and Kingdoms, to pull up and to destroy, to
build and to plant ; and then he proceeds to re-
 late the King's Trespas, and the Occasion he
 had to chastise him, upon which he pronounces
 a Sentence, strips him of his Crown, frees his
 Subjects from their Allegiance ; commands him
 to abrogate the Laws made against his Suprema-
 cy, and to appear before him at *Rome* within nin-
 ty Days, and his Adherents and Favourers ; and,
 in case they refused, he ratifies the Excommuni-
 cation, deprives him of his Kingdom and Domi-
 nions, forbids him, or any that adhered to him, to
 have Christian Burial, if they died without Ab-
 solution ; and declares them *eternally damned*.
 After this he goes on to interdict the whole
 Nation ; inhibiting all publick Prayers and Di-
 vine Offices, deprives the Children of the King,
 born or to be born of Queen *Anne* ; and all
 the Children of his Adherents and their Po-
 sterity of all Rights and Privileges, and Goods
 moveable and immoveable, declares them de-
 prived of all Dignities, Offices, Honours, Rights,
 Fees, &c. and this he does knowingly, and by
 the *Plenitude* of his Power : Pronounces the King
 and his Adherents, with their Descendants to be
 infamous Persons, disable to be Witnesses to
 make any Will or Testament, or to receive any
 Legacy

Legacy by the Testament of another, forbids all to have Conversation or Commerce with them on Pain of Excommunication; and commands all Christian Princes no way to favour the King or his Adherents, and nulls all Compacts or Treaties made, or to be made with the King; gives Authority to all Christian Princes to turn their Arms against the King and his Adherents, and compel them to return to the Unity of the Church; and whosoever acknowledges *Henry* the Eighth to be King, or any ways obeys him, and will not expel him out of the Kingdom, all their Goods, &c. are to be seized on, possessed and kept by any that can get them; and he gives them full Power to enjoy any such plundered Goods of the King, or any of his Subjects, as in their own Right and Propriety; and whoever takes any Inhabitants in *England*, who obey the King and disobey the Pope, they are to be Slaves to those that take them.

Popes Bull
against Q.
Elizabeth.

And the like Freedom Pope *Pius*, another Servant of the Servants of God, used towards Queen *Elizabeth*. He publishes his Bull against her in the Year 1570. having assumed to himself an absolute Power over the whole Church on Earth, and declared himself Prince over all People, and all Kingdoms, and Guardian of the Unity of the Church, he thunders out his Curses against Offenders, and amongst others against *Elizabeth*, whom he calls the *pretended* Queen of *England*, and a Slave of Wickedness; she having, as he says, seized on the Kingdom, and monstrously usurped the Place of supreme Head of the Church in all *England*; and having by strong Hand forbid the Exercise of the true Religion, which *Mary, lawful Queen*, of famous Memory, had, by the Help of this See restored, having filled the Church with *Hereticks*, abolished

shed the Sacrifice of the Mass, and the Catho-
lick Rites and Ceremonies, &c. forbid the Pre-
lates and Clergy to acknowledge the Church of
Rome, and compelled them to condescend to her
wicked Laws: She having done all this, and
being incorrigible, *his Holiness* can no longer
bear with her, but pronounceth her deprived
of her pretended Title, all her Dignities and
Privileges whatsoever; absolves her Subjects
of their Oaths of Allegiance, and forbids them
to obey her Laws, upon Penalty of the like A-
nathema, &c.

And thus the Foundation of Mischief was laid,
and the Way prepared for all the Tragedies that
afterwards ensued, or were endeavoured by
them. They henceforth look upon us as a Peo-
ple *accursed*, and have been, from Age to Age,
watching every Opportunity to accomplish our
Ruin. A brief Account of their several Plots I
am now to subjoin.

During the Remainder of King *Henry* the Plots in
Eighth's Reign, after he fell out with the Pope ^{K. Henry's}
(tho' it is known the Papists were in great Favour ^{Reign.}
with him, his Clegy being chiefly Papists, and
the Religion professed here in the main Popery,
yet) several showed themselves uneasy on the
Account of Innovations; and since the Pope had
curst the King, and deposed him, they with-
draw their Allegiance, and endeavour to execute
the Curse, and accordingly take up Arms against
him. The first Trouble he met with was from the
Lincolnshire Men, who got together in a Body,
being headed by one Dr. *Mackrel*, Prior of
Barlings in the said County, but calling himself
Capt. *Coblet*. They represent their Grievances to
the King by way of Supplication; and among o-
ther Things take notice of the Suppression of so ma-
ny religious Houses; that his Grace had ill Coun-
sellors,

Ld. Herbert in
Compt.
History of
England,
Vol. II.
p. 205.

sellors, and Men of mean Birth about him (mentioning *Cromwel* in particular) that divers Bishops had subverted the Faith, and that they feared that the Jewels and Plate of their Parish Churches should be taken from thence, as lately from the religious Houses; for Reformation of which they humbly desire his gracious Majesty to call to him the Nobility of the Realm, and to see such Orders and Directions concerning the Premises given, as they might accept his Grace to be their Governor and supreme Head of the Church of *England*, &c. But this Disturbance was soon over, the Duke of *Suffolk* being sent against them, they drop their Demands, and disperse themselves.

Fowles's
Popish
Treasons,
p. 316.

The Conspiracy in *Yorkshire*, and other Northern Countries, which was this Year (1536.) was more threatening; 'About 40,000 were concerned in this Insurrection; that they were 'formed into a complete Army, not wanting a 'Train of Artillery, they called their March, 'The holy and blessed Pilgrimage, and the Pilgrimage of Grace; on the one Side of their 'Banner was painted Christ hanging on the Cross; 'on the other a Chalice, with a Wafer in it; the 'Soldiers, upon their Sleeves, had represented 'the five Wounds of Christ.'

Many rise at the same Time in other Places, as *Richmond*, *Lancashire*, *Westmorland*, *Durham*, &c. And such was their Strength, that they not only take upon them to restore Monasteries, but even force the Archbishop of *York* and Lord *Darey* to take their Oath, which was, 'That they should enter into this Pilgrimage of 'Grace for the Love of God, the Preservation 'of the King's Person and Issue, &c. to put away all Fears, and take afore them the Cross of 'Christ, his Faith, and the Restitution of the 'Church

‘ Church the Suppression of Heriticks and their
‘ Opinions.’ But this also proved a vain and
weak Attempt, and was easily baffled, several
of the Ring-leaders of it being imprisoned, and
some executed.

That which I look upon of greater Consequence, and that was the most threatening of any Thing that fell out in this Reign, was the Conspiracies against the Life of *Cranmer*, which had they succeeded in, they had nipt the Reformation in the Bud ; but God graciously preserved him to be a happy Instrument in his own Work ; who, after a great deal of Service done to the Truth of Christ, bore Testimony to it at last with his Blood.

As the Reformation prospered better under *Plots in K.*
King *Edward*, so its Enemies were more enraged ; *Edward's*
they lost more, and thought they had more Reason to complain. One of the first Things that
provoked them was, the taking down Images and
Crucifixes by the King's Visitors, and in Pursuance of his Injunctions. *Hayward* says, as they
passed from Place to Place, many unfavoury Scorns were cast upon them, and the farther they
went from *London*, the more the People rose in Insolence and Contempt; and that as one of
these Commissioners was pulling down Images in *Cornwal*, he was suddenly stabbed by a Priest
with a Knife. He adds, Hereupon the People, more regarding Commotions than Commissioners,
flocked together in divers Parts of the Shire, as Clouds cluster against a Storm. And tho' some
of these Rebels suffered exemplary Punishment, yet the Mischief did not stop here, but spread it-
self into *Wiltshire*, *Somersetshire*, *Suffex*, *Hampshire*, *Kent*, *Glocestershire*, *Warwickshire*, *Essex*,
Herefordshire, *Leicestershire*. But these being
neither

*Complete
History of
England.
Vol. II. p.
292.*

neither in Number nor Courage great, were in a little Time appeased.

That which ensued, the *Devonshire* Rebellion appeared more formidable; it would seem it was begun on the Account of Inclosures. The great Men that had the Possession of the Abbay-Land, had taken in the waste Ground in their respective Manors, which the Poor resent as no small Injury to them, being thereby deprived of some Privileges they used to have. To get themselves relieved they flee to Arms, and presently increase to ten thousand, many of whom made it appear, that they looked farther than the Inclosures, and were really more concerned about the *ancient Abbay-Religion* than Abbay Lands.

History of On *Whitsun-Monday*, says Dr. *Heylin*, June
Reformat. 10. 1549. being the next Day after the exerci-
p. 75. sing of the publick Liturgy, some of the Pari-

Fowles,
p. 318.

shioners of *Samsford Courtney* compelled the Parish Priest to let them have Mals, as in former Times; this was seconded by others, whereupon they began to drop the Matter of Inclosures, and pretend Religion as the Cause of their coming together; and being headed by *Humphrey Arundel*, Esq; and some other Gentlemen, they became considerable. They marched into the Field with a Crucifix under a Canopy, which, instead of an Altar, was set on a Cart, accompanied with Crosses and Candlesticks, Banners, Holy Bread, and Holy Water, to drive away Devils, and dull their Enemies Swords, as *Speed* expresses it; and now it seems they venture to make their Demands of the King; the Particulars of which we have in *Strype's* Life of Appen. 88. *Cranmer*, with *Cranmer's* Answer to them. That the Reader may see what a noble Cause they had, and for what it is such Men have often filled the World with Blood and Confusion, I shall transcribe most of them, they

they consist of 15 Articles; those that concern Religion, are as follow:

1. We will have all the general Councils, and The De-
 holy Decrees of our Forefathers observed, kept ^{mands of}
 and performed; and whoever shall gainsay them, ^{the Rebels}
 we hold as Hereticks.

2. We will have the Laws of our Sovereign
 Lord King *Henry* the Eighth, concerning the
 six Articles, to be used again, as in his Time
 they were.

3. We will have the Mass in *Latin*, as was
 before, and celebrated by the Priest, without
 any Man or Woman communicating with him.

4. We will have the Sacrament hang over the
 high Altar, and there to be worshipped as it used
 to be; and they that will not hereunto consent,
 we will have them die like Hereticks against the
 holy Catholick Faith.

5. We will have the Sacrament of the Altar
 but at *Easter* delivered to the Lay-People, and
 then but in one Kind.

6. We will that our Curates shall minister the
 Sacrament of Baptism at all Times, as well in
 the Week-day, as on the Holy-day.

7. We will have Holy Bread and Holy Water
 every *Sunday*; Palms and Ashes at the Time
 accustomed; Images to be set up again in every
 Church; and all other ancient Ceremonies used
 heretofore by our Mother-holy-Church.

8. We will not receive the new Service, be-
 cause it is like a *Christmas*-Game; but we will
 have our old Service of *Mattins*, *Mass*, *Even-*
ing-Song, and Procession in *Lent*, as it was be-
 fore.

9. We will have every Preacher in his Ser-
 mon, and every Priest at the Mass, pray espe-
 cially by Name for the Souls in Purgatory, as
 our Forefathers did.

10. We

10. We will have the Bible and all Books of Scripture in *English* to be called in again, for we be informed that *otherwise* the Clergy shall not of long Time confound the Hereticks.

11. We will have Dr. *Moreman* and Dr. *Crispin*, which hold our Opinions to be safely sent to us; and to them we require the King's Majesty to give some certain Livings, to preach among us our Catholick Faith.

In the 12th Article, they demand that Cardinal *Pole* be not only pardoned, but made of the King's Council. In the 13th they require that no Gentleman shall have more Servants than for every 100 Merk of Land one. In the 4th Article they insist upon restoring Abbay-Lands, and Chantry-Lands. And, in the last Article, they demand that the particular Grievs of their Country may be so ordered, as *Humphrey Arundel* and *Henry Bray* shall inform the King's Majesty.

These were the Terms they thought fit to insist upon; by which it is easy to observe there could be no Accommodation with them by Treaty, unless the whole Reformation must be given up to them, for it was for Popery they fought; and therefore Forces are sent against them under the Command of the Lord *Russel*, and more under the Command of the Lord *Gray*: The Rebels had besieged *Exeter*, and reduced it to some Extremities, for want of Food. On the 6th of *August*, 1549. the Lord *Russel* routed them and entred the City; which Day was kept afterwards among them as an *Annual Feast*, in Gratitude to God for their Deliverance from the Rebels.

This was followed with another Insurrection in *Norfolk*. The Cry was chiefly against Inclosures, and therefore marched about levelling, but being pretty much increased, they make their Demands of the King; and, among other Things,

com-

complain, that holy Rites established by Antiquity were abolished, new ones authorized, and a new Form of Religion obtruded to the subjecting their Souls to those horrid Pains which no Death could terminate (meaning, perhaps, that it threatned Hell instead of Purgatory;) and therefore it was necessary for them to go in Person to the King, to place new Counsellors about him during his Minority; removing those who confounded Things sacred and profane. But they could not be gratified without too much Expence in all their Demands, and therefore resolve to stand it out; and marching directly to *Norwich* they possess themselves of *Moushold-Hill*; on the Top of which, under a large Oak (since called, *The Oak of the Reformation*) their chief Man, keeps his Court; but, after some Skirmishes, they accept a Pardon, and lay down their Arms; some of the Principal of them being put to Death in *Terrorem*, nine were hanged on the Tree of Reformation, *Ket* and his Brother taken to *London*, and, after a Time, sent down and executed.

Other Disturbances of the like Kind happened during the short Reign of this young Prince; but none of them carried much Danger either to the Government or the Reformation; they were only the weak Efforts of a superstitious biggoted People, that knew not when they were well, nor would they accept of Deliverance; but were desperately bent upon continuing the Bonds on themselves and Posterity, under which their Forefathers had groined for so many Ages. One cannot, methinks, represent their Case better than by that of *Micah*, when deprived of his *Teraphim*, his graven and molten Image, he cries after the *Danites* in the utmost Distress, *They have taken away my God, says*

he, that I made, and what have I more. So fond were these poor Creatures of their idolatrous Trash, as to look upon themselves undone when they wanted it; and therefore thought it a good Cause to venture their Lives in (*viz.*) the destroying the Reformation, and the retrieving the many Blessings of Popery, the Comforts of Holy Water, of Mass, Purgatory, &c.

*Strype's
Memorial
of Cranmer,
p. 208.*

I shall only take notice, that these Methods not succeeding, they go to work another Way, and employ their Emissaries (as they have often done since) to promote Divisions among the Reformers; to which Purpose two are dispatched into *England* from *Rotterdam*, who were to preach against baptizing Infants, and for rebaptizing, and a fifth Monarchy on Earth. It is said a Letter was sent to two Bishops, whereof *Winchester* was one; the Letter was from *Delf*, *May 1549.* to signify the coming of these Agents, and desired they might be assisted in this Cause. This Letter Sir *Henry Sidney* met with in Queen *Elizabeth's* Closet, among some Papers of Queen *Mary's*, and transcribed into his Book called *The Romists Policies*; so that, finding Force would not do, they make use of Fraud, which has ever been their Expedient in Time of Need; but God disappointed them in all, and hitherto strengthened what he had wrought.

Nobody need be informed that the next Reign (Queen *Mary's*) totally overthrew the Reformation; he that would relate the Transactions of it, must write a Book of Martyrs; their Work now was not so much to plot against Protestants, as to destroy them with Authority, having Law and the Government on their Side.

*Queen
Mary's
cruel Zeal
to destroy
the Reformation and
the Reformers.*

Queen *Mary* began her Government with a Shew of Mildness, and with many fair Pretences; but, if these were agreeable to her Inclination, Nature was overcome by Principle, and

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born down by the horrid Maxims of that Religion she had imbibed; of which her false and perfidious Treatment of the *Suffolk Men*, who had expressed so much Zeal for her Advancement, is a flagrant Instance, and may serve as a Caution to others, how they trust the most plausible Promises and Engagements of Popish Princes, who are taught that it is no Violation of their Honour to deceive Hereticks: She had, it seems, given him Assurance that she would never make any Alteration of Religion, as it was in her Brother's Time, but would be content with the private Exercise of her own Religion, upon which they resolved to venture their Estates and Lives in her Service; but this was soon forgot; and it is said, that when they afterwards pleaded her Majesty's Promise, she answered, (tauntingly) *They should have the Honour of being the first Martyrs*; which was all the Requital their Zeal got.

Being placed upon the Throne, she resolves to restore Popery, and loses no Time, but proceeds in the Service of her Cause, with all the Zeal her Religion inspired; the Protestant Bishops and other Divines are silenced, upon an Order, that none should preach without a Licence, and the Popish Doctors restored. The Laws of King *Henry* the Eighth, from the 20th of his Reign, made against *Rome*, are repealed; as were all those of King *Edward* that concerned the reforming Religion. In the second Sessions of her first Parliament, which began *October* 24. 1553. a Bill passed in favour of the old Popish Religion, wherein nine Acts, made in the former Reigns about Religion, were repealed at a Clap. The Convocation this Year is opened Complete with Transports: *Harpfield*, Bishop *Bonner's* History of England, Chaplain, preaches and extols the Queen to the Skies, and in Conclusion applies the Words in the

Virgin *Mary's* Magnificate to the Queen, she being, says he, most gloriously magnified in our Eyes, might sing with her, *Behold! from henceforth all Generations shall call me blessed.*

The next Year (*Anno 1554.*) the Nation is solemnly and publickly reconciled to *Rome*, the Parliament having petitioned for it, and the Pope having sent over Cardinal *Pool* to receive their Submission, and transact the Affair, *Pool*, upon his Arrival, made a smooth Speech before both Houses, the King and Queen present, in which he tells them, 'That since, by the late Schism, they had become Exiles from the Unity of the Church and the Kingdom of Heaven, he would, by Authority of Christ's Vicar, bring them back to the Fold, and so restore them to their heavenly Inheritance;' and therefore he exhorted them ingeniously to acknowledge and detest the Errors of the late Times, &c. upon which the Bishop of *Winchester* presented a Petition to the Legate, to absolve the Clergy and Laity from the Crime of *Heresy*. The Legate receives the Petition, and pronounces an Absolution, all the Estates kneeling; and thus Peace was made with the Pope; and the Queen, to shew herself worthy of his Favours, and an obedient Daughter, sets herself utterly to extirpate *Heresy*; and not only destroys the Superstructure of her Brother, but raises the Foundation her Father laid, revives the most cruel Laws against Hereticks, which she executes with the Zeal and Fury of a Popish Bigot, casting all into the Fiery-furnace that would not worship the Image that she had set up. But God remembered Mercy, heard the Cry of his distressed People, puts an End to their Sufferings, and to the Encroachments of their Enemies, by the Death of that bloody Queen, after she had reigned

Ibid. p.
548.

reigned five Years, four Months, and eleven Days.

It was before observed, that as Queen *Mary* undid what her Father and Brother had done, so her Sister *Elizabeth* restored it, only the one makes quick Dispatch, ruining in a Year the Preparations of twenty: The other proceeds more leisurely, hewing Popery down by Degrees, or stealing it away rather by Piece-meal, and not tearing it up by the Roots all at once; however, what she did was so offensive to the Zealots of that Party, that they take all imaginable Methods to be revenged on her, and to retrieve, if possible, their sinking Cause.

Pope *Pius* the Fourth, being lately advanced to the papal Chair, begins to attempt the reducing of Queen *Elizabeth*, to the Obedience of his See; to which Purpose, he tries what fair Means will do, and writes a cajolling Letter to her, which he sent by *Parpalia*, Abbot of *St. Saviours*, Anno 1560. We have it at large in *Camden*, *Fuller*, &c. the Substance of which is as follows:

Our most beloved Daughter in Christ, greet-
 ing and apostolical Benediction; how earnestly
 we desire (as by our pastoral Duty bound) to
 take effectual Care of your Salvation, and to
 provide for your Honour, and the Establishment
 of your Kingdom, both God the Searcher
 of Hearts knows, and you may learn your-
 self from the Instructions we have given to our
 beloved Son *Parpalia*: We do therefore,
 most dear Daughter, exhort your Highness
 again and again, that you would lay by these
 ill Counsellors, who love themselves better
 than your Interest; and that you would proceed
 in the Fear of God, and acknowledge the
 Time of your Visitation, and yield Obedience
 to our paternal Admonitions; by doing

Plots in Q.
Elizabeth's
Reign.

Pope's Letter to Q.
Elizabeth.

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England,
Vol. II.
p. 384.

‘ which you may promise yourself every Thing
‘ at our Hand that you can desire, not only to-
‘ wards the Happiness of your Soul, but the
‘ Establishment also of your royal Dignity, ac-
‘ cording to the Authority entrusted with us by
‘ God; who, if you return to the Bosom of
‘ the Church, are ready to receive you with
‘ the same Affection the Parent in the Go-
‘ spel received the Prodigal upon his Return;
‘ tho’ our Satisfaction *will be greater*, since he
‘ rejoiced in the Salvation of one Child only,
‘ you, as virtually containing all the People of
‘ *England*, will give us Occasion to congratu-
‘ late the Conversion of a whole Nation: Nay,
‘ you will fill Heaven with Joy, and by so me-
‘ morable an Action perpetuate your Name, and
‘ purchase a much richer Diadem than what
‘ you now wear.’ And it is said, that the Ab-
bot was instructed to assure her Majesty, That
he would disannul the Protest against her Mo-
ther’s Marriage as unjust, *settle the English Li-
turgy by his Authority*, and grant the Use of
the Sacraments to the *English* under both Kinds,
in case she would reconcile herself to the *Romish*
Communion, and bow to the Supremacy of his
Chair; and that several thousand Crowns were
promised to those that should effect this: But
the Queen, as *Cambden* expresses it, still consist-
ed, with her Motto, *Semper Eadem*, nor would
she suffer *Parpalia* to enter *England*.

1561.

However, busy Heads are still at work; the
next Year the Pope sends another Nuncio, the
Abbot *Martinego*; and tho’ he is refused Ad-
mittance into the Land, yet the very Noise of
his coming gave Occasion to some *Romanists*
to spread Reports of the Queen’s Conversion:
And the Pope’s Nuncio, then in *Ireland*, it seems,
was so forward, as to deprive her Majesty by
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his pretended Authority, of all Title to that *Fetis*
Kingdom, and not only so, but to join with the *Pop. Trea.*
Rebels against her. 329.

What Conspiracies, and horrid Attempts *Several*
were made against her Life, by this desparate *Assassins*
Faction, during the greatest Part of her Reign, *employed*
is related by all our Historians, and is too large *against*
to be brought into these Papers: I will give the *Queen E-*
Reader however a brief Epitomy, mostly from *lizabeth.*
Fowlis. He tells us, That Pope *Pius V.* was
strongly bent, not only to get *Queen Elizabeth*
deposed, but murdered; and, having loaded her
with the most reproachful and base Names, he
employs his Emissaries against her, particularly
Roberto Rodolpho, a *Florentine* Gentleman, who
was sent to reside in *England*, under the Pre-
tence of merchandizing, and to stir up the Peo- 1568.
ple against the Queen; and in case he succeed-
ed, the Pope deals with the *French*, and *Spa-*
niard, and *Portugal*, to yield their Assistance;
the last of which sends the Marquis of *Cetona*,
under Colour of an Embassy, to countenance the
Rebellion, and to command the Forces with which
the Duke of *Alva* was to invade the Kingdom.
In the mean Time, *Rodolpho* minds his Busi-
ness, executing his Commission with great Di-
ligence, and, having formed a Plot against the
Queen, endeavoured to make *Thomas Howard*
Duke of *Norfolk* Head thereof, promising him
in Marriage *Mary* the unfortunate Queen of
the *Scots*, now secured in *England*; and at last
they over-perswaded the good-meaning Duke to
engage further than was * fitting for a Subject, * As ap-
being drawn thereto by some false Friends: *appears from*
And into the same Design went *Thomas Piercy* *his Confes-*
Earl of *Northumberland*, *Charles Nevil*, Earl of *Execution*
Westmorland, with several others of Quality; *mentioned*
who at last, perceiving the Queen had discovered *by Camb-*
their *den.*

Fewl's Ib. 331. their Plot, submitted and begged Pardon. Nor, adds my Author, was the Pope himself idle, but so zealous for this Rebellion, that he assured the *Spaniards*, if need be, that he would go himself in Person to assist them.

But whereas Things went slowly on, the better to encourage the Work, and animate the Workman, the *Pope* is perswaded by *Harding*, *Stapleton*, *Morton*, and others, to publish the Sentence of Excommunication and Deposition mentioned before; upon which the *Papists* looked upon Queen *Elizabeth*, as the *Barbarians* did on *St. Paul*; when the Viper was fastened to his Hand, *expecting that he should have swollen and have fallen down dead*; but as he shook off the venomous Beast into the Fire, without Hurt to himself, so the Queen stands under this heavy Curse, and staggers not, despising the Insults of the proud Pontiff, warding off the Blows of his Janizaries; however, this Effect it had, it stirred up all the *Ravilliacks* of the Party, and let loose a Company of *Russians* like so many Bull-dogs to worry her.

His Bull, it seems, was first made known in *England* by Dr. *Nicholas Morton*, whom the *Pope* sent to declare in his Name, that the Queen was an Heretick, and so had no Right to rule; and that she ought to be looked upon no otherwise than an Infidel Pagan: Accordingly *Morton*, coming into *England*, shews the papal Curse, and sets forward a Rebellion; but the boldest Step was that of *Felton*, who stuck up the *Pope's* Bull on the Bishop of *London's* Palace-gate in *St. Paul's* Church-yard; and so resolute was he in his Cause, that he refuses to withdraw for his Safety; and when he was seized and imprisoned, owns and vindicates the Facts, calls the Queen the *pretended* Queen, affirming he had done her

no

May 25.
1570.

no wrong; she having nothing to do in the Throne, *being deprived by the Pope*, but Justice overtook him, he suffers as a Traitor, tho' *Parsons* calls him a *glorious Martyr*, others call him the valiant Soldier, and brave Champion of Jesus Christ.

Endless were their Plots hereupon against Page 338.
her Crown and Life. *Fowles* mentions a Treatise of Schism, written by *Gregory Martin*, and published in the Year 1584. which, among other Things, exhorted the Women at Court to act the same against the *Queen* as *Judith* had done, with Commendations against *Holofernes*, which several in different Ways attempted to do, (I mean to murder her) tho' without Success. The Treasons of *Parry*, *Babington*, *Savage*, *Loper*, *Squire*, *York*, &c. are too many to be here related. *Lopez*, a *Jew*, and Physician, was hired to poison the *Queen*, and had, as an Earnest-penny, a rich Jewel sent him, and was promised for the Performance 50 thousand Ducats; and, in the 1594. same Year, *Edmund York*, and *Richard Williams*, were hired to the same Work, *York* at his Trial confessed, that *Holt* the Jesuit, *Hugh Owen*, &c. had offered him an Assignment of 40000 Ducats, if he would kill the *Queen* himself, or assist *Richard Williams* in doing it, and that *Holt* kissing the holy Host, swore that the Money should be paid so soon as the *Queen* was killed, and bound *York* and *Williams* by an Oath, and the Sacrament of the Eucharist, to dispatch her. Many more were employed in the same Service; Annals of
Cambden takes notice of at least half a score Eliz. 1594
Assassins, besides those we have mentioned.

But all these Endeavours failing, they resolve at last upon a Home-stroke, which was utterly to destroy the *Queen*, and her heretical Subjects, by a foreign Power; to which Purpose,
the

the King of *Spain* invades the Land with what they called the *invincible Armada*, the *Pope* having given him these Kingdoms, and earnestly exhorted him to the Enterprize, and sent an Admonition to the People of *England*, to join with him against their Sovereign.

Vast were the Preparations they made, having an hundred and thirty Ships, with all Sorts of Ammunition, a sufficient Number of Soldiers and Mariners, and above a hundred Noblemen of *Spain* that came Volunteers, expecting no Question their Share of the Spoil: The Prince of *Parma* also, in the *Netherlands*, built a vast Number of flat-bottomed Boats with a large Supply of Ships. The *Pope* having blest the Undertaking, sent abroad his *Croisado*, offering full Pardon of Sin to every one that contributed any Assistance, promising for himself a Million of Gold, provided that the Crown of *England* should be held as *Feudatory to the See of Rome*: And, for his better Encouragement, he bestows on the King of *Spain* the Title of *Defender of the Faith*, with Apostolical Benediction.

On the 20th of *July*, about Noon, this terrible *Armament* came within Sight of the *English* Coast, their Ships appeared as so many Castles, in Front like a Half-moon, the Horns whereof stretched forth in Breadth about seven Miles, the Ocean, as it were, groning under them.

How this famous *Armada* (that they foolishly called *Invincible*) was conquered, is known. I shall only take notice, that there was so much of Providence, our Enemies themselves being Judges in it, that the *Spanish* Admiral, the Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, blasphemously swore, that he feared *Jesus Christ was turned Lutheran*: Nay, the King of *Spain* himself hearing of this strange
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the *Romish* Perswasion, which she signified in a Letter to *Mendoza*, the Spanish Ambassador.

But not trusting to this, they go to work another Way, and endeavour to prove him *Illegitimate*, a Mock-King, denying him to be the Son of *Queen Mary*; next they attempt to draw him in to join with *Spain* against *Queen Elizabeth*, under Pretence of revenging his Mother's Death; but this Project failing, about the Beginning of the Year, 1583. (as the *Papists* themselves tell us) the Bishop of *Dumblain* was sent to him, (*King James*) by *Pope Sixtus 6th*, to make him an Offer of a Marriage with the *Infanta of Spain*, on Condition of becoming a Catholick, and taking part against *Queen Elizabeth*; and when they could not succeed in this, the Priests abroad, says my Author, invented another Stratagem, to raise a Jealousy in *Queen Elizabeth*, that the King of *Scotland* was tampering with the *Spaniards* at the same Time, he profess his utmost Aversion to them: Then they insinuate that he was a *Papist*, or inclined to their Religion, which they did to prejudice him with the Queen.

p. 8.
p. 10.
A Popish Pretender set up.

But finding none of these Contrivances would take, they resolve to set up a Popish Pretender; and whereas the King of *Spain* at that Time, bid fairest for an universal Monarchy, they have recourse to his Family: And Father *Parsons* undertakes to prove, that the Title of the Crown of *England* did of Right belong to his Daughter the *Infanta*, even of hereditary Right divine and indefeasible, fetching it from a long and lineal Descent, upon an old Marriage between *Spain* and *England*, and thereby making *Queen Elizabeth* her self an Usurper, as were her Successors. To serve this Purpose, the said Father *Parsons* wrote his *Doleman* or Conference about

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about the Succession to the Crown of *England*, the chief Design of which was to exclude the *Scots* Title, and set up the *Spanish Infanta*. p. 14.

But *Parsons*, not trusting to the Strength of his Arguments, and to the Title of Birth-Right, thought fit to take another Method, and therefore proposed at *Rome*, that the Catholick Princes should by mutual Counsel and Consort, chuse out and appoint a Successor to the Crown of *England*, and to this Purpose dealt with *Cardinal D'Offat*, that the *Pope*, the King of *France*, and the King of *Spain*, should agree among themselves in a Successor for *England*, that should be a Catholick, and that they should join their Forces to settle such a one upon the Throne of *England*, still meaning the *Infanta*, contriving an Alliance and Confederacy to bring her in, and it seems some brisk Resolutions were taken here-upon, as appears from a Letter wrote to Sir *Robert Sydney*, Nov. 9, 1595. ' I briefly advertise you, ' says his Correspondent, of Things assuredly ' confirmed. The *King of Spain* having pro- ' vided great Treasure, Ships and Arms, hath ' declared that either he will alter the Religion ' and present Government of *England*, or bestow ' all that he hath in the World, that *England* is ' most assuredly to be invaded, and the chief ' Instruments of the present Government to ' be quite extinguished, as Enemies to the ' Faith, that there shall be such a King put ' up in *England*, if the *Queen* will not be ' Catholick, as the Realm shall chuse being a ' Catholick, which shall be in League with the ' *Pope*, the King of *Spain*, and all such Catholick p. 16. ' Princes as join to extirpate *Heresy*, and ' plant Catholick Faith, that the King of *Scots* ' must either be a Catholick, or lose his Title ' to any Kingdom.' I will only add here, that
whilst

whilst these plain-hearted upright Men, the *Jesuits*, were labouring in every Court of *Europe*, where they had Access in such like Projects as these, they did; for a Blind, gravely make a Decree, *that none of them should meddle with State-Affairs.*

Q. Eliza-
beth and her Ministry, endeavour to fix *King James* in the Ministry Protestant Interest, representing to him that there was no other Way to secure his Succession to the Crown of *England*, and that the Nobility and Gentry had Honour and Spirit too great to submit to the Tyranny of the Church of *Rome*; and this, it is like, was a principal Argument to keep him firm to that Interest, which he declares himself resolved to adhere to, by Instructions sent to *Hamilton*, in the Year, 1600. 'In my Name, says he, assure all honest Men in the Princely Word of a Christian King, that, as I have ever without Swerving maintained the same Religion within my Kingdom, so, as soon as it shall please God lawfully to possess me with the Crown of that Kingdom, I shall not only maintain the Profession of the Gospel there, but withal not suffer any other Religion to be professed and avowed within the Bounds of that Kingdom.

Upon this, apprehending little Hopes of the King of *Scotland*, these busy Sticklers prevail with the Pope to put in a Bar to his Succession; to which Purpose he sends over to *Garnet*, Provincial of the *Jesuits* in *England*, two Bulls of his Apostolical Authority, one directed to the Clergy, the other to the Nobility and rest of the Laity; the Matter of both was the same, *viz.* to enjoin them by Virtue of their Obedience, that whenever it should happen *miseram illam feminam*, that miserable Woman,

Woman, as he called the Queen, should depart this Life, they should admit none to ascend her Throne, how near soever in Blood, (thereby pointing directly to the King of Scotland) unless such as should not only tolerate the Catholick Faith, but to their utmost promote it, and who, according to the Example of their Ancestors, would swear to do so. pag. 24.

Queen *Elizabeth* dying *March 24, 1603.* the Faction dispatched a Messenger into *Spain* to give Advertisements thereof, and to continue the former Negotiations with that Court, setting forth, that the Condition of the Catholicks would be harder under the new King than it had been under Queen *Elizabeth*; and therefore they press *Winter* to continue his Sollicitations for Help, &c. But it seems King *Philip* began to cool of the Matter, and returned in Answer, that he could no longer attend to their Petitions, for that he had sent Embassadors into *England* to treat of Peace with the new King, which was concluded and ratified soon after. pag. 31. Ibid.

And now, being repulsed in every Attack, and deserted by their best Friends, they resolve to have one Push more for it: The Conspirators, says *Thuanus*, fly to their last and desperate Counsels; and in the first Place they make it their Business to satisfy their Consciences, and that being done, they confirm their Resolutions to attempt some great Enterprize (which was the *Powder Plot*).

Several Debates were held about this, in *Sep-tember, 1603.* there was a Meeting of the principal Actors in it, in which *Catesby* began with a grievous Complaint of the King's Proceedings, for that, contrary to their Expectations, his Majesty did both hold, and was like continually to run the same Course which the Queen before had held: Powder Plot.

p. 40.

held: *Fiercy* in great Heat replies, that there was no Way left but to kill the King: No, *Tom*, says *Catesby*, thou shalt not adventure thy self to so small a Purpose, if thou wilt be a Traitor, there is a Plot to greater Advantage, and such a one as can never be discovered, adding that the killing the King would not sufficiently serve the Catholick Cause, while the Prince and Duke of *York* were left alive: Nay, if both these were destroyed, the Nobility, Judges, Knights, &c. would be remaining, who would always stand in their Way, and cross their Purposes; that therefore he had bethought himself of a better and more safe Way, which was at one Time and at one Blow to cut off all their Enemies: This, he said, was by blowing up the Parliament House with Gun-Powder, when the King and his States were there assembled.

p. 42.

How they began, and how far they proceeded in this hellish Design, is a Thing pretty well known, and needs not here be related. I shall only observe that when the full Design was opened, it appeared so shocking, even to the Consciences of those Men, that some of them were startled at it, and thought meet to ask the Opinion of their ghostly Fathers, and be informed of the Lawfulness of the Fact: To which Purpose, they consulted *Garnet* and others, who commended the Enterprize, assuring them they might go on with a good Conscience, and perform the Deed, seeing they were *Hereticks*, and Persons *ipso jure excommunicated*, against whom they were set; but when this Difficulty was got over, it seems another stuck with them, and that is, whether it be lawful to destroy the Righteous with the Wicked, for in so general a Blow, some Catholicks were like to be involved in the common Destruction. To this *Garnet* answers, That

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if the Advantage was greater to the Catholick Part by taking away some Innocents, together with many Nocents, that doubtless it should be lawful to kill and destroy them all; as we must not forbear the storming of a Fort, tho' some Friends be in it, who with the Enemy may be slain.

The Way being thus cleared they go forward, an Oath of Secrecy and Perseverance being required of every one, which was in these Terms; 'You shall swear by the blessed Trinity, and by the Sacrament you now purpose to receive, never to disclose directly or indirectly by Word or Circumstance, the Matter that shall be proposed to you to keep secret, nor desist from the Execution thereof, until the rest shall give you leave.' This done, they went into a more private Chamber, heard Mass, received the Sacrament from *Jerard*, prepare themselves with all Diligence for the Enterprize, procure a Cellar under the Parliament House, which they store with 36 Barrels of Powder covered with Billets, Faggots, Stones and Iron Bars, to which a Train of Powder was laid, that was to be fired *November* the 5th, the Day when the Parliament was to meet.

The Discovery of this by a Letter to the Lord *Monteagle* I pass by as known; who wrote the Letter is a Secret: I must own, I cannot but suspect the Hand of the King was in it, not that he * contrived the Plot, which is most absurd

K

to

* The Papists at that Time could not tell how to deny the Fact, but excused it as well as they could, by calling it an Attempt of a few unfortunate Gentlemen: It seems it had been under Consultation for a considerable while among them. *Del-Rio* in a Treatise printed 1600. puts a Case, in the Supposition of auricular Confession, as if, says Dr. *Kennet*, (*Sermon* Nov. 5, 1715.) he had already lookt into the Mine and Cellars, and had surveyed the Barrels of Powder in them, and had heard the whole Confession of *Faux* and *Catesby*: The Case he puts was this; Whether

to suppose, since so many were hanged for it, confessing the Fact, and were applauded as Saints and Martyrs amongst their Brethren; but the King might make use of this Coutrivance, the better to conceal the Notice of the Conspiracy he might have from *Henry IV. of France*. In the Duke of *Sully's* Memoirs, there is more than once Mention of some *sudden Blow* they intended in *England* about that Time; and in one Letter King *James* is desired to take Warning from the Fate of *Henry III.* and it seems in an Harangue pronounced at *Rome* in Praise of *Ravillac* the Assassin of *Henry IV.* it is there said that he (*Henry IV.*) was not only an invertebrate Enemy to the Catholick Religion in his Heart, but had

ther if a Confederate discover in Confession, that he or some else have placed Gun-powder, under such or such a House, and unless it be removed the House will be blown up, *the Prince* destroyed, and as many as are in or going out of the City will sustain great Mischief, &c. Whether the Priest ought to reveal it? He answers in the *Negative*, and supports his Opinion by a Bull of *Pope Clement VIII.* against violating the Seal of Confession. This being published, so near *England*, as *Lovain*, and so near the Time, when the Train was laying, shows it was then in their Thoughts, to use the Words of *Bishop Burnet*, who also relates this Passage: *Pope Paul* is supposed not only to know of this Design, but to prepare a Jubilee for it, by an express Bull dated at *Rome*, 1605. entitled, *Indictio Jubilei ad Divinam Opem implorandam pro presentibus necessitatibus*: And one Reason for timing the Year 1605. for the Year of Jubilee was, *Impios Hereticorum Errores undique evellere* — But methinks it might put this Matter out of all doubt, that some of the Conspirators owned and even gloried in the Undertaking. *Dr. Tillotson* says of *Sir Everard Digby*, (whose original Papers and Letters were then in the Doctor's Hands) that after he was in Prison, and knew he must suffer, he calls it the best Cause, and was extremely troubled to hear it censured by Catholicks and Priests as a great Sin, contrary to his Expectation: Let me tell you, says he, what a Grief it is, to hear that so much condemned, which I did believe would have been otherwise thought of by Catholicks. He concludes this Letter thus, With how full Joy should I die, if I could do any Thing for the Cause, which I love more than my Life. As to the Point of involving those of his own Religion in the same Destruction, he says, he could (*Dr. Tillot. Sermon. Nov. 5, 1678.*) have offered something to mitigate the Odium of that, but adds, he does not think there would have been three worth the saving, that would have been lost.

had obstructed the glorious Enterprizes of those Complete that would have restored it in *England*, and occasioned them to be crowned with Martyrdom (referring no Question to the Execution of these Traitors.) History of England, Vol. II. p. 675.

The Nation having escaped this Stroke which *K. James* aimed at all Root and Branch, it was no more assaulted in that violent Manner during the Reign of King *James*, and yet was often exposed, and the Cause of the Reformation not a little endangered by the unaccountable Conduct of that Prince, whom some by a Figure, I suppose, called the *Solomon of the Age*. That this may appear, it will be necessary to consider his Management in a few Instances, and I shall begin with his *Popish Alliance*, which he so industriously sought, and which indeed laid the Foundation of the greatest Part of our Miseries ever since.

He first treats about a Match with the *Infanta* of *Spain*, for his Son Prince *Charles*; to which Purpose, he sends over the Earl of *Bristol*, and afterwards *Buckingham* to negotiate the Matter, and with him the Prince himself, Piece of Conduct that surprized every Body, and that none but King *James* could have been capable of. This Treaty was a mighty reviving to the Catholick Cause, strangely emboldned the Popish Recusants, and encreased their Number, as was complained of in a Petition and Remonstrance of the Commons to the King, *Anno 1621*. K. James treats with Spain about a Match for Prince Charles. Rushworth's Collection, Vol. I. p. 40.

Whilst the *Prince* was in *Spain*, all imaginable Endeavours were used to pervert him in Religion, and perswade him to turn Catholick, suggesting how acceptable this would make him to the *Infanta*; and when the Danger of it was objected by the Prince and his Ministers, that the Nation (*England*) would not bear it, they promise to assist him with an Army against such

Wilson in
the Com-
plete Hist.
of England.

rebellious People : And to forward the Matter, the Pope himself writes a smooth Letter to him, wherein he puts him in Mind of his renowned Ancestors, and their Zeal for holy Church, exhorts him to an Emulation, and particularly takes notice of his Journey into *Spain* to the Catholick King, with Design to ally himself to the House of *Austria*, which he commends; and is willing to conclude from thence that the ancient Seeds of Christian Piety, which so happily flourished in the Hearts of the Kings of *Great Britain*, may revive again in his Soul; adding, that it is not to be believed, that he who loved such an Alliance should hate the Catholick Religion, and therefore that he commanded continual Prayers to be made for his Conversion, that he might defend the Authority of the Sovereign High-Priest, and fight against the Monsters of Heresy, telling him the Arms of the Church stand open to receive him, and that they beseech, with unspeakable Sighs and Groans, the God of all Mercy for his Salvation, and that for the Comfort of the Christian World, he might put the Prince of the Apostles in Possession of his most Noble Island, and that he and his Royal Father might be stiled the Deliverers and Restorers of the ancient paternal Religion of *Great Britain*, (dated from the Palace of *St. Peter*, the 20th of *April*, 1623.)

Ibid. p. 767
the Prince's, afterwards K.
Charles I.
Letter to
the Pope.

The Prince returns the Civility of this Letter in one to the Pope in the following Strain, ' *Most Holy Father*, I received the Dispatch from your *Holiness*, with that Respect which the Piety, with which your *Holiness* writes, does require. I do believe that your *Holiness* hath set the Examples of the Kings my Predecessors before my Eyes, that I might imitate them; for in Truth they have often

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' exposed their Estates and Lives for the Exalta-
 ' tion of the *Holy Chair*, and the Courage with
 ' which they have assaulted the Enemies of the
 ' Cross of Jesus Christ, hath not been less than
 ' the Care and Thought which I have.' He
 adds a little after, ' And I do not esteem
 ' it a greater Honour to be descended from so
 ' great Princes, than to imitate them in the
 ' Zeal of their Piety; in which it helps me
 ' very much to have known the Mind and
 ' Will of our *thrice honoured Lord and Father*,
 ' and the holy Intentions of his Catholick
 ' Majesty, to give a happy Concurrence to so
 ' laudable a Design, (the uniting Christian
 ' Princes) for it grieves him extremely to see
 ' the Evils that grow from their Divisions, which
 ' the Wisdom of your Holiness foresaw, when
 ' it judged the Marriage which you pleased to
 ' design between the *Infanta of Spain* and my
 ' self, necessary to procure *so great a Good*;
 ' for it is very certain, I shall never be so ex-
 ' tremely affectionate to any Thing in the
 ' World, as to endeavour an Alliance with the
 ' Prince *that hath the same Apprehension of the*
 ' *true Religion with my self*. Therefore I entreat
 ' your Holiness to believe that I have always
 ' been far from encouraging Novelties, or to be
 ' a Partizan of any Faction against the Catho-
 ' lick, Apostolick, *Roman Religion*, and that
 ' I will employ my self for the Time to come
 ' to have *but one Religion*, and one Faith, hav^{1623.}
 ' ing resolved with my self to spare nothing I *June 20.*
 ' have in the World, neither Estate nor Life, for
 ' a Thing so pleasing unto God, &c.*

The

* *Russworth* has published this Letter (p. 82.) from a Copy that varies
 from this in some Expressions, and some have questioned the Genuineness
 of the Letter itself, but this I suppose must be out of Tenderness to the
 Memory of the Writer; nor can I think it strange, considering the Hu-
 mour the Prince and his Father were then in, (*Ibid.* 486.) and the Cause
 they had depending, he should address the Pope in this Stile.

Spanish
Match.

The Pope after many Delays grants a Dispensation, and the Marriage is at last agreed to between *Prince Charles and the Infanta*, upon sundry Articles; particularly, that it should be made by Dispensation from the Pope, that it be celebrated in *Spain*, according to the Instructions of the Council of *Trent*, and afterwards in *England*, in such a Manner as may make the Marriage valid according to the Law of the Land; so be, that no Ceremony nor other Thing intervene which shall be contrary to the *Roman Catholick Apostolick Religion*; that the Children of this Marriage be not constrained in Matter of Religion, nor their Titles prejudiced in Case they prove Catholicks; that the *Infanta's* Family may be Catholicks, and have a † Place appropriated for all divine Service according to the Use of the Church of *Rome*, and the ecclesiastick and religious Persons may wear their proper Habits; that she shall have a competent Number of Chaplains (twenty four Priests and Assistants) and a Confessor, being Strangers; one whereof shall have Power to govern the Family in religious Matters, that it may be lawful for the *Lady Infanta* and her Servants to procure some *Rome* Dispensations, Indulgencies, Jubilees, and all such Graces as shall seem fit to their Religion, &c. That the Laws which are or shall be in *England* against Religion, shall not take hold of the said Servants; and if any secular Judge shall apprehend any ecclesiastical Person for any Offence, he shall forthwith cause him to be delivered to the superior Ecclesiastick, who shall proceed against him according to the Canon Law.

† *Wilson*, says the Pope, extended this Article thus, *Habeat etiam Ecclesiam publicam Londini*, That she should have a publick Church in *London*.

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Law. That the Sons and Daughters which shall be born of this Marriage shall be brought up in the Company of, the most excellent *Infanta*, at least until the Age of ten Years. These, and such like, were the Articles of that Marriage, which both the *King* and the *Prince* swore to, as they did afterwards to four private Articles, viz.

1. That particular Laws made against the *Roman* Catholicks shall not at any Time hereafter directly or indirectly, be commanded to be put in Execution. Terms of the match in favour of the Papists.

2. That no other Laws shall hereafter be made anew against the said *Roman* Catholicks, but that there should be a perpetual Toleration of the *Roman* Catholick Religion within private Houses throughout *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*.

3. That neither by us or any other, directly or indirectly, privately or publickly, will we attempt any Thing with the most renowned *Lady Infanta*, which shall be repugnant to the *Roman* Catholick Religion.

4. That *we* and the *Prince* of *Wales* will interpose our Authority, and will do as much as in us lies, that the Parliament shall approve and ratify all, and singular Articles in Favour of the *Roman* Catholicks, capitulated by the most renowned Kings, by reason of this Marriage; and that the said Parliament shall revoke and abrogate particular Laws made against the said *Roman* Catholicks, and that hereafter we will not consent that the said Parliament shall ever enact any new Laws against *Roman* Catholicks.

And thus this incautious Prince laid the *Ibid. p. 89.* Foundation of the greatest Mischiefs both to his Family and to his Subjects, for which he was severely censured both at Home and Abroad.

History of ' The People of *England* (says *Eachard*) equally
England, p. 947. ' hating the *Spaniards* and the Popish Religion,
 ' were irreconcilably averse to the Marriage,
 ' and would have bought it off at the dearest
 ' Rate, and as far as they durst, opposed it by
 ' Speeches, Councils, Wishes and Prayers; but
 ' if any spoke louder than the rest, he was
 ' silenced or checked; when as, in *Spain* and in
 ' *Flanders*, Books and Pictures were published
 ' to expose both King and State, for which the
 ' *English* Ambassadors in vain sought for Satis-
 ' faction.'

Ar. Bishop Archbishop *Abbot* with great Faithfulness
Abbot with great faith- remonstrates against the King's Measures, in a
 fulness op- Letter to himself, in which he tells him, he had
 poses the been too long silent, and had neglected the
 Match. Duty of his Place, and now begs leave to dis-
 charge his Conscience to God, and his Duty to
 his Majesty; he tells him, he laboured to set up
 the most damnable heretical Doctrine of the
 Church of *Rome*; and how hateful, says he, will
 it be to God, and how grievous to his good
 Subjects, that his Majesty who hath so often
 disputed, and learnedly written against these
 wicked Heresies, should now shew himself a
 Patron of them: He further tells him, that he
 had sent his Son into *Spain* without the Consent
 of his Council, the Privy and Approbation of
 his People; an Action dangerous to himself and
 desperate to his Kingdom: Besides, this Toler-
 ation could not be done without a Parliament, by
 his Declaration alone, unless his Majesty would
 let his People see, that he would take a Liberty
 to throw down the Laws of the Land at Plea-
 sure: And having beseeched his Majesty to con-
 sider the dreadful Consequences of these Things,
 he concludes: Thus, in Discharge of my Duty
 towards God and your Majesty, I have taken
 humble

humble Boldness to deliver my Conscience, and now Sir, do with me what you please.

But this was without Effect. 'His Desires Complete History of England, Vol. II. p. 768. were so heightned to the Heats of Spain, says *Wilson*, that he would listen to nothing, and almost yield to any Thing rather than not enjoy his own Humour; divers of his intimate Council, affecting Popery, urged him to a Toleration, insinuating that Catholicks were the King's best Subjects, the Puritans being the greatest Disturbers of the Royal Peace, intrenching too boldly upon the Prerogative; and why should not the Catholicks (say they) be permitted in *England*, as well as the Protestants are in *France*? That their Religion was full of Love and Charity, when they could enjoy it with Freedom, &c.' And though enough was answered to these Pretences, the King was so intent upon his great Point (the *Spanish Alliance*) that he stops his Ears, and resolves to go forward: And thus, says *Wilson*, did our *Solomon* in his latter Time (tho it was said of him, he had fought with the Beasts at *Ephesus*) incline a little too much to the Beast at *Rome*.

The Consequences of this Treaty were such as sufficiently rebuked the Folly that appeared in it; it filled the Nation with Popish Priests and Jesuits, brought over the Titular Bishop of *Calcedon* to exercise Episcopal Jurisdiction over the Catholicks of this Kingdom, it lost King *James* the Love of his Subjects, and exposed him to the Contempt of his Enemies; to this he not only sacrificed his own Honour, but the Life of that excellent Person Sir *Walter Rawleigh*: Nay, to this he sacrificed the Palatinate and the Interest of his Family there. *Wellwood* from *Spanheim* tells us, that when several Princes were for en-

tring

Memoirs
p. 22.

tring into a League for Restitution of the *Palatinate* and the *House of Austria* was beginning to doubt the Success, *Gondomer* played his Engine to break their Measures, by proposing a Match with the *Infanta of Spain* for the Prince of *Wales*, as the easiest and surest Way to restore the *Palatine Family*, which like all the rest was only to amuse King *James*, and was equally unsuccessful. He adds, it was too long to give the Detail of King *James's* Conduct in this Affair, which was all of a Piece; the Author sums up the Ills that attended it in this, 'That thereby the Protestant Religion was entirely rooted out of *Bohemia*, the electoral Dignity transferred from the *Palatine Family*, the *Palatinate* itself lost, the Liberty of *Germany* overthrown; and, which he mentions with a sensible Regret, the famous Library of *Heidelburgh* was carried to *Rome*, to the irreparable Prejudice of Learning, so that *Gondomer* had good Reason to say in one of his Letters to the Duke of *Lerma*, that he had lulled King *James* so fast asleep, that he hoped neither the Cries of his Daughter nor her Children, nor the repeated Sollicitations of his Parliament and Subjects in their Behalf should be able to awaken him.'

French
Match.

But notwithstanding all the Zeal the King and the Prince showed in this Matter, and the strange Concessions made with Reference to Religion, against the Remonstrances of the Parliament and Complaints of the People, the whole miscarried and came to nothing, so that the King was still to seek for a Wife for his Son, and the Lady *Henrietta Maria of France* being proposed by *Buckingham* (who was Dictator to the King, and in his Counsel at that Time); the King eagerly pursues it, and forthwith sends the Lord *Kensington*, newly made Earl of *Holland*, to feel the

the Pulse of the *French King*; who, after he had continued at that Court a Month, began to speak of the great Affair he came about; which as soon as it was proposed to Monsieur, it appeared so acceptable to him, that he told the Earl he had rather have the Prince of *England* to be his Brother than any other Man in the World, And was so ready to comply, that he seemed indifferent in making Terms for the Catholics in *England*: But when he found King *James*, who dreaded a seconded Disappointment, to be immeasurably fond of this Alliance, he abated of his Forwardness, enlarged his Demands in Favour of Papists, and strained the King to such Concessions as he had promised to his Parliament he would never grant upon the Mediation of foreign Princes.

*Eachard's
History of
England,
p. 974.*

The famous *Cardinal Richlieu* was the principal Manager of this Affair, in Behalf of *France*, and the Earls of *Holland* and *Carlisle* in Behalf of *England*: These represented to the Cardinal, that the Proposition they made of a Marriage being no new Thing, since it had been treated of many Years before to marry the Prince of *Wales* with *Madam Christiana*, who was afterwards married to the Prince of *Piedmont*: They had nothing now to do, but to resume the Articles already made, and to continue on the same Foot with the Lady *Henrietta*, but the *French* answered, that the Face of Affairs was changed since that Time, and that they had different Thoughts at present: That it was the King of *England's* Interest to preserve the Reputation of the *French King* in this Marriage; that at present, they could not be contented with what they had formerly offered about Religion,

after

‘ after what had happened in *Spain*, when there
 ‘ was a Treaty of Marriage between the Prince
 ‘ of *Wales* and the *Infanta*, urging that it was
 ‘ necessary to begin the Negotiation, by laying
 ‘ those Articles upon the Table, which the King
 ‘ of *Great Britain* had agreed with *Spain* upon
 ‘ that Occasion.’

The *English* Ambassadors, it seems, objected
 against their Demands, but the *French* persist in
 them, representing it would do great Service to
 the King of *England*, by uniting to his Party
 all the *English* Catholics, who would oppose
 themselves to the *Puritans* and *Presbyterians*, by
 whom the King was not truly beloved; and upon
 these and such like Reasons the *English* complied.
Eachard says, the Ambassadors would not con-
 sent to grant the publick Church to the Papists,
 as had been stipulated in the Treaty with *Spain*,
 alledging it would endanger a Mutiny in *London*.

Detection
 of the
 Court of
England,
 Vol. I.
 p. 191.

Tho’ *Coke* affirms that the Cardinal would not
 abate one Jot of the Articles of Religion and Li-
 berty to the Popish Recusants, which was agreed
 upon in *Spain*; nay, he raised them higher,
 urging it was but fit that his Master, who was
 eldest Son of the Church, should not abate any
 Thing of what was granted to the Catholick
 King.

Rushworth.
 History
 Collect.
 Vol. I.
 p. 169.

The Marriage was at last concluded upon,
 and the Articles signed by King *James*, May 11,
 1625. and besides the general, three private Ar-
 ticles were agreed to in Favour of the Papists,
 viz. that the Catholics, as well ecclesiastical as
 temporal, imprisoned since the last Proclama-
 tion, which followed the Breach with *Spain*,
 should all be set at Liberty: That the *English*
 Catholics should no more be searched after, nor
 molested for their Religion: That the Goods of
 the Catholics, as well ecclesiastical as tempo-
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ral, that were seized on since the forementioned Proclamation should be restored to them: Indeed *Nalson* questions the Truth of these Articles; but the *French* Author of *Cardinal Richlieu's* Life, in effect declares as much as *Rusworth*; namely, that the *King and Prince* took an Oath to release all the Catholick Prisoners as soon as the Marriage was consummated, to prohibit for the future their ill Treatment, for their Religion; and further, that they both gave a Promise in Writing not to oblige the Princess to change her Religion. The Wisdom and Religion of this Treaty has been sufficiently known and felt in *England* since that Time, and needs no Comment. The *French* Author mentioned before says, 'It was against all the Maxims of good Policy; it drew upon his Son King *Charles*, those Mischiefs which perhaps never befel any King succeeding to an hereditary Crown. He adds, His Sons born of that Marriage, and seduced by their Mother's Perswasions, have been most unfortunate since his Death; and several were of Opinion that *Cardinal Richlieu*, who was then contriving a War against the House of *Austria*, sent this Princess into *England* as a Ball of Dissention, *Eachurd, p.* that would create so much Trouble in the 997. Nation as would incapacitate them from disturbing their Neighbours Affairs.' It was indeed the Source and Spring-head of all our Miseries; nor can I think it any Rashness to say, this old and experienced King (as he used often to stile himself) did by this single Act more to overturn the Reformation, and ruin his Country, than ever he did by all the Actions of his Life to support either.

As a natural Consequence of this new Alliance, great Favour is shown to the Papists, while

while the Match formerly with *Spain* was depending, the Prisons were opened to Popish Recusants, Priests and Jesuits walk about at Noon-Day, (and we may be sure as much would be expected now); *Gondomer* vaunts that his Intercession had released four Thousand: Nay, the King, the better to convince his dear Allies of his Readiness to comply with them in these Things, requires the *Lord Keeper* to pass Writs under the broad Seal, enjoining the Judges of every Circuit to enlarge the *Recusants*, that were Prisoners for any Church-Recusancy whatsoever, or refusing the Oath of Supremacy, or disposing Popish Books, or hearing or saying of Mass, or any other Point of Recusancy, which doth concern Religion only: And tho' this was what he did, and what he solemnly stipulated to do, yet upon Occasion we find him denying every Title of it. Thus in his Speech to his fourth Parliament, 1624. being blamed for encouraging a Toleration to Papists, he declared, *as God should judge him*, he never thought, nor never in Words expressed any Thing that favoured of it, only sometimes, for special Reasons, he did not so fully put the Laws in Execution against them, and upon the Parliament's petitioning, that the Laws might be put in Execution against Jesuits and seminary Priests, and other Orders of the Church of *Rome*, this religious King protested before God, 'That his Heart had bled when he heard of the Increase of Popery, and that the Grief of it had been as Thorns in his Eyes, and Pricks in his Side; and he solemnly promises them that upon no future Occasion of Marriage, or Treaty, he would hearken to the Intercession of other Princes to the Toleration of Catholicks, which how true it is, with respect to what was past, or what was to come, every one may judge.' But

Rusworth, c.
p. 116, 143 c.

it is known this King had Latitude of Conscience enough to say any Thing, and had learnt the Art of dissembling to such Perfection, that he seemed to make it his chief Qualification for Government, he would affirm or deny, protest and appeal to Heaven, when there was not one Word of Truth in what he said.

Nor did he only connive at the Papists from *K. James* Reasons of State, but some have suspected his *suspected Indifferency* in Matters of Religion, and that he *to incline* really had no very great Aversion to his *Mother's* *to Popery.* *Faith*, had it been his Interest to have professed it. We have under his Name a very obliging Letter wrote from *Scotland* to Pope *Clement VIII.* wherein he recommended to his Holiness the Bishop of *Vaison*, for a Cardinal's Hat: Queen *Elizabeth* being informed of it, expostulateth with him about it. The honest King after his Manner, denied the Knowledge of any such Letter, with the solemnest Oaths, signifying his Abhorrence of corresponding with the *Pope*, or giving him the Title of *Holiness*, and the whole was charged on *Bellmerino*: Yet afterwards he made no Scruple to do both these in the Business of the *Spanish Match*, and even when he came to *England*, in his first Speech to his Parliament, his Moderation carried him so far, as to call the Church of *Rome* a *true Church*, and our *Mother-Church*; adding, 'If they would leave
' such new and gross Corruptions of theirs as
' themselves cannot maintain, he would for his
' Part be contented to meet them in the mid Way,
' so that all Novelties might be renounced on ei-
' ther Side.'

But the greatest Step that ever he took was his Concern with the *Archbishop of Embrun*, if *History of* we may believe the Account *Eachard* has pub-*England,* lished of the Matter. He tells us, 'That whilst *p. 975.*
' the Treaty was depending about the *French*
' Match,

' Match, the said *Archbishop* was sent over in
 ' Favour of the *Roman* Catholicks in *England*,
 ' and to sound King *James* about his Thoughts
 ' of the *Romish* Religion, he comes Incognito,
 ' but being discovered by the *Duke of Bucking-*
 ' *ham*, was told that there was no Occasion for him
 ' to change his Name, or conceal his Quality,
 ' for he should receive nothing but Honour,
 ' especially from the King his Master, who
 ' had a very particular Esteem for him: Soon
 ' after he introduced him to the King, who re-
 ' ceived him so very graciously, as immediately
 ' to release the *Roman* Catholicks out of Prison,
 ' at his Motion, and to permit him to admini-
 ' ster Confirmation to what Catholicks he
 ' pleased, in the House of the *French* Ambassa-
 ' dor, whilst the Doors were open: Accordingly
 ' he confirmed about 10000 in the Presence of
 ' a great Concourse of People at the Door, and
 ' in the Street, at which many were offended
 ' and complained, but were answered by the
 ' King, that he did nothing contrary to his
 ' Pleasure: The *Archbishop* had several Con-
 ' ferences with the King, in which his Majesty
 ' testified his great Desire to be allied to *France*,
 ' and the other insisted upon a Toleration, as
 ' the most effectual Means to give Satisfaction
 ' to the Catholick Princes; whereupon the
 ' King laying his Hand upon the Bishop's Hand,
 ' said, *I plainly see that you are a Person appoint-*
 ' *ed by God, in which I ought to confide, and re-*
 ' *veal the Secrets of my Heart.*

' Afterwards he very freely acknowledged
 ' to the *Archbishop*, the good Opinion he had
 ' conceived of the Catholick Faith, protesting
 ' to him that, during his Minority, his Tutors
 ' having perceived his Inclination to that Re-
 ' ligion, he ran great Hazards of being assassinat-

ed

ed; as to a Toleration, he professed he had
 long designed to grant it in his Dominions,
 and for that very Purpose, he intended to
 summon an Assembly of Prelates, and other
 learned Men of *England*, together with an
 equal Number of Foreigners, and upon the
 Decisions there made to found the said Liber-
 ty; adding, that he had already determined,
 what Persons should be chosen among the
English, and that if the Assembly could not
 meet at *Dover*, he would consent that it should
 be holden at *Bolloign*, as soon as he should be
 in a Condition to rely upon the King of
France, by Means of the intended Marriage :
 And to procure these good Effects, he thought
 convenient that after the Consummation of it,
 the *Archbishop* should return into *England*,
 under a Pretence of accompanying the *Prin-*
cess, at which Time he would deliver to him
 two Letters written with his own Hand,
 one for the *French King*, another for the *Pope*,
 containing his *serious Resolutions* : He would
 also give him a distinct Memorial, concerning
 his Intention, which he would sign, that the
Archbishop being furnished with these Dis-
 patches he should go to *Rome*, under Colour
 of visiting the Apostolick See, there to
 treat with the *Pope* alone, for whom he
 said he had a great *Respect and Affection*, ever
 since he understood he had composed Verses
 in his Youth, of the violent Death of the
 Queen of *Scotland*, his Mother, in Commenda-
 tion of her, and of the *Family of the Stewarts*,
 which he shewed to the *Archbishop*. He
 further declared, that in Case the *Archbishop*
 returned from *Rome*, with the Approbation of
 his *Holiness*, concerning the Convention, he
 would cause it forthwith to be assembled,

' whereupon extraordinary and admirable E-
 ' vents would ensue: But before he proceeded
 ' to discover his Design, as to his own Person,
 ' he would negotiate with the Protestant Princes
 ' of *Germany*, and with the principal Puritan
 ' Lords of *England* and *Scotland*, and promise
 ' that all Things should tend to a happy Conclu-
 ' sion, and to the great Advantage of the Catho-
 ' lick Church'. This says the Archbishop is the
 Substance of all the Discourses, they had at se-
 veral Times upon this Subject.

Monsieur D'Ageat, further tells us, ' That
 ' being satisfied as to all the Points in Contro-
 ' versy, the King wrote a long Letter to the
 ' Pope by a Catholick Gentleman, his Subject,
 ' whom he privately sent to him on Purpose;
 ' in which he acknowledged him, as *Vicar Ge-
 ' neral of Jesus Christ on Earth*, as the universal
 ' Father of the Christians, and the Chief of all
 ' Catholicks; assuring him, that after he had
 ' taken care of those Things, to which he had
 ' agreed, he would *openly declare himself*. In
 ' the mean Time, he promised not to suffer
 ' any Search to be made in his Kingdom after
 ' Priests, that were sent by his Holiness or the
 ' most Christian King, provided they were not
 ' *Jesuits*, in whom he protested he could not
 ' confide, for several Reasons, principally be-
 ' cause he accounted them the Authors of the
 ' *Gun-Powder Treason*: In his Letter, among
 ' other Things, he intreated the *Pope* to vouch-
 ' safe, that the Goods of the Church that were
 ' entred into the Patrimony of the principal
 ' Families in *England*, should not be taken from
 ' them, but that they should be permitted still
 ' to enjoy them, because otherwise great
 ' Troubles and Commotions would ensue: He
 ' affirmed moreover, that nothing should hinder

• him

him from making a *publick Profession* of the
 ' Catholick Religion, at this Time; but the
 ' Desire he had to gain the *King of Denmark*,
 ' his Brother-in-Law, whom he had for that
 ' End, tho' under another Pretence, solicited
 ' to come over into *England*, that by doing
 ' this, he should be able to establish Peace in his
 ' own Dominions, which otherwise could hardly
 ' be maintained. The Duke of *Buckingham*
 ' and the Gentlemen he sent to *Rome*, were
 ' the only two Subjects, to whom he commu-
 ' nicated these Intentions. The *Duke* had
 ' promised to follow him, and had made a con-
 ' siderable Progress in the Affair, but all these
 ' remarkable Designs were made void by the
 ' Death of the King of *England*, not long after;
 ' at which the *French* King declaring the News
 ' to the *Archbishop of Embrun*, exprest a very
 ' sensible Regret, in these Words; *All our Hopes*
 ' *of England are lost.*' Thus far, says *Eachard*,
 the two *French* Authors; and so leaves the
 Credit of the Narrative to the Judgment of the
 Reader.

Whether King *James* spoke all this or not,
 or if he spoke it, whether it was only a Copy
 of his Countenance, pretended purely to serve
 a present Turn, is what I shall not presume to de-
 termine. But this I think is certain, let his real
 Principles be as they will, (*and God has judged*
him) his Conduct in these Matters, gave that
 Blow to the Protestant Interest *Britain*, that it
 has never fully recovered to this Day.

But this was not the only Instance, in which *K. James*
 he invaded or betrayed the Liberties, and in-sets up Ar-
 dangered the Religion of his Kingdom, I may bitrary
 justly add to it, as pretty much of the same Power.
 Nature and Tendency, *his grasping at Arbitrary*
Power, an Inclination to which he discovered,

through the whole of his Reign. It has been observed, and not without good Reason, that tho' he made himself mean and contemptible to all the World abroad, he affected to swagger over his Parliaments and People at Home, which he did in a Manner that was far from making, or showing him great. With how much overbearing Majesty did he treat his Parliament, upon Occasion of the Remonstrance they prepared touching the *Spanish Match*. The King hearing of it, before it was presented, instantly dispatches a Letter to Sir *Thomas Richardson*, to forbid them to send it; in which he complains, ' That
' some fiery and popular Spirits had been emboldned to debate publickly of Matters *far above their Reach* and Capacity, tending to
' our high Dishonour, and Breach of Prerogative Royal: Adding, these are therefore to command you to make known in our Name, unto
' the House, that none therein shall presume henceforth to meddle with any Thing concerning our Government, or deep Matters of
' State, and namely not to deal with our dearest Son's Match, with the Daughter of *Spain*,
' nor to touch the Honour of that King, nor any other of our Confederates, and also not
' to meddle with any Man's Particulars, which have their due Motion in our ordinary Courts
' of Justice; and you shall resolve them in *our Name*, that we think ourselves able to
' punish any Man's Misdemeanours in Parliament, as well during their sitting, as after,
' which we mean not to spare hereafter, upon any Occasion of any Man's insolent Behaviour there.'

And when the Commons had sent a humble Supplication and Petition in Answer to this threatening

threatning Message from his Majesty, wherein they make the utmost Submission (tho' at the same Time, plead for the ancient Liberty of Parliaments, and Liberty of Speech, as their undoubted Right, and an Inheritance received from their Ancestors) the King answers them with some Severity of Stile, and puts them in Mind (*Ne Sutor ultra Crepidam*) that the Cobler must not go beyond his Last, telling them they had meddled with Things above their Sphere; and whereas they had mentioned their ancient and undoubted Right of Inheritance, he tells them, he could have wished they had rather said, *that their Privileges were derived from the Grace and Permission of his Ancestors and himself*; implying that the 'very Being and all the Rights of Parliament, were precarious, and depended upon the mere Favour of the Prince.

Nor were there wanting some to hold the King's Stirrup, whilst he was mounting, he found among the Clergy a Set of Men after his own Heart, that fell in with his arbitrary Humour: To which Purpose served the twenty five Articles exhibited by *Bancroft*, and others in the Name of all the Clergy in *England*, called *Articuli Cleri*, the Articles of the Clergy; here, says *Coke*, they ascribed an absolute Power to the King, and struck directly at the Constitution of Parliament; and some Years after, *Bancroft* repeated his Articles (they having been before objected against by the Judges) and another of the Party (*Dr. Corwel*) published a Book which he called his *Interpreter*, wherein he maintains these three Principles, 1st, That the King was *solutus a Legibus*, not bound by his Coronation Oath. 2^{dly}, That it was not from any Necessity, that the King should call a Parliament to make Laws, but might do it by his absolute Power. 3^{dly}, It was

Ibid. 50. a Favour to admit the Consent of the Subjects in giving Subsidies. *Cowel's Interpreter*, was not only printed, says my Author, but publickly sold without Impunity; and this gave Encouragement for the publishing many others to the same Purpose, among which *Blackwood* published one, which concluded *that we are all Slaves by Reason of the Conquest*.

Nor did he only talk for absolute Power, but he was for exercising it: He was too much a Philosopher, not to know, *Quod frustra datur potentia quæ non producitur in actum*; and therefore having fallen out with his Parliaments, and finding he could not get his Ends answered by them, he resolves to supply himself by his Prerogative; to which Purpose he commands the Privy Council to issue out an Order, for raising Money, for the Defence of the Palatinate, and also Letters to the Justices of the Courts in *Westminster-Hall*, and Barons of the *Exchequer*, to move them and perswade others to a liberal Contribution, according to their Qualities and Abilities: Nevertheless if any Person shall thro' Obstinacy or Disaffection refuse to contribute thereto proportionably to their Estates and Means, they are to certify their Names to the Council-Board.

Letters to the same Effect, were directed to the high Sheriffs of Counties, and Justices of Peace, and to the Mayors and Bailiffs of every City and Corporation within the Kingdom, requiring them to summon all before them of known Abilities, within their Jurisdictions, and to move them to a chearful Contribution according to their Fortunes, and to return Schedules of the Names of such as shall contribute, and their Sums; that his Majesty may take notice of his Friends, and (to be sure) set a Mark on others.

And

K. James
raïses Mo-
ney, by
his Prero-
gative.

And these were the Steps this *Pacifick King* took to subvert the Constitution, and enslave his People; and tho' it is true, he met with some that had a better Sense of Liberty, than tamely to yield up all to his Ambition, to whom Posterity is not a little indebted, yet he did all he well could for subduing them; and I cannot but think it is to him we owe a great Part of what we have suffered, or been in danger of with reference to our Religion and Liberties, ever since.

The Maxims and Measures of the next Government (that of *King Charles 1st.*) were very much of a Piece with the former, and borrowed from thence. The Match with the Daughter of *France*, so near concluded by the Father, was consummated by his Son, the first Year of his Reign, and that upon the Plan *King James* had laid down, and which was mentioned before. It is a just Reflection that we have in Dr. *Kennet*, speaking of a great Plague that was this Year, which, says he, some reflecting on, in the latter End of *King Charles's* Reign, have looked upon as a very *inauspicious Omen*; but others have thought that this Reign began with a *greater Judgment* in the King's Marriage with *Popery* and *France*, two Evils with which the Interest of this Church and State could bear no Alliance: He adds, considering the Malignity of *Popish* Religion, the Imperiousness of *French* Government, the Influence of a stately Queen, upon an affectionate Husband, and the Share she must have in the Education of her Children, it was easy to foresee that this unequal Match might prove very fatal to our *English* Prince and People, and lay in a Vengeance to future Generations, which alas! the Nation found true by woeful Experience.

Complete
History of
England,
Vol. III.
p. 14.

K. Charles's
Match with
France, consummated,

K. Charles
treads his
Father's
Steps.

The King no sooner enters upon his Government, but he presently showed he inherited more from his Father than his Crown, which appeared particularly in the little Confidence he had in his Parliaments, and his Manner of treating them, his precipitate dissolving of them, &c. wherein he seemed industriously to copy after his Father's Example, and tread in his Steps; tho' it is said King *James* saw his Mistake herein before he died, and cautioned his Son not to split upon the same Rock.

K. Charles
dissolves
his first
Parl.

He dissolves his first Parliament the first Year of his Reign. It seems they began with a Complaint of Grievances which wanted Redress, and particularly struck at *Buckingham*, whom they looked upon as an Enemy to the Nation, and Author of the most dangerous Counsels; and whereas the King had taken a *Papist* into his Bosom, (whose Influence they feared), they now had a more jealous Eye than ever upon the *Papists*, and petition that the Laws may be executed against them: And when their Grievances were redressed in these and such like Particulars, they should be ready to grant his Majesty any Thing: The King on the other Hand insists upon a present Supply, assuring them that afterwards he would be at Leisure to hearken to any of their Complaints; and it is easy to observe that it was upon this Point very much that they differed all along; the Parliament would grant no Supply till their Grievances were first considered. The King would say nothing to Grievances without a Supply, and so neither Side durst trust the other. Dr. *Kennet* having recited a Declaration of this first Parliament, full of Affection to his Majesty, observes, 'That if his Majesty would have seemed to have been pleased with it, and would have commanded *Buckingham* to have made his

Complete
History of
England,
Vol. III.
p. 10.

' Peace

Peace with the Commons, and would have promised a Redress of civil Grievances as graciously as he answered the Complaints about Religion, and so have complied with the Genius of the Nation, he might have made himself safe at Home, and very considerable Abroad: But it happened, that he thought the Duke a necessary Instrument by no Means to be laid aside; and that nothing else ought to interrupt an immediate Supply, and therefore dissolves them; which, says the same Author, left a deep Impression of Discontent upon the Minds of the People, and created a Diffidence and Jealousy between the King and succeeding Parliaments.

August 12.

1625.

The second Parliament, which was called the same Year, was soon dissolved; and that upon the like Reasons with the former. It was of the worst Consequence, that the King in his Reply to an Answer of the Commons which Dr. Kennet says, seemed to be very respectful and sincere,) should so roundly tell them, that he will not allow any of his Servants to be questioned among them; and that, if they did not hasten a Supply, it should be worse for them. This inflamed them to a great Degree, and occasioned loud Complaints of Grievances, which they resolve to represent in a Petition to his Majesty; but, while they are preparing it, the King by Commission dissolves them, notwithstanding a Petition from the House of Lords against it.

Ibid. p. 26.

Nor was this the worst of it, he not only falls out with his Parliaments, but endeavours to make them unnecessary; and therefore, like his Father, attempts unhappily to raise Money without them. My Lord Clarendon says, 'There was in this second Parliament an Intention of granting five Subsidies; and that the Meeting
K. Charles
falls out
with Parliaments.
History of
civil Wars.
Vol. I. p. 2.
800.
' being

‘ being upon unpopular and unplaufible Reasons,
 ‘ immediately difolved; thofe five Subfides
 ‘ were exacted throughout the whole Kingdom,
 ‘ with the fame Rigour, as if an Act had paffed
 ‘ for that Purpofe. Divers Gentlemen, of prime
 ‘ Quality, in feveral Counties in *England*, were
 ‘ for refufing to pay the fame, committed to Pri-
 ‘ fon with great Rigour and extraordinary Cir-
 ‘ cumftances.’ Several of thefe petitioned and
 ‘ gave Reasons for their Refufals, of which we
 ‘ have a particular Account in *Rushworth*.

Part I.
 P. 429.

P. 422.
Sibthorp.
 and *Man-*
waring Ad-
 vocates for
 arbitrary
 Power.

What Part fome of the Clergy took at that
 Time to encourage thefe illegal Proceedings, fo
 much to the Difhonour of the King, Grief of the
 Subject, and Danger of the Government, is well
 known, and may be feen at large in *Rushworth*.
Dr. Welwood gives this fhort Account of the
 Matter: ‘ Among other Means, fays he, of
 ‘ raifing Money, that of Loan was fallen upon,
 ‘ which met with great Difficulties, and was ge-
 ‘ nerally taken to be illegal; one *Sibthorp*, an
 ‘ obfcure Perfon, in a Sermon preached at the
 ‘ Affizes at *Northampton*, would make his Court
 ‘ by afferting, not only the Lawfulnefs of this
 ‘ Way of impofing Money by Loan, but that it
 ‘ was the indifpenfible Duty of the Subject to
 ‘ comply with it. At the fame Time *Dr. Man-*
 ‘ *waring*, another Divine, preached two Ser-
 ‘ mons before the King at *Whitehall*, in which
 ‘ he advanced thefe Doctrines, viz. that the King
 ‘ is not bound to obferve the Laws of the Realm
 ‘ concerning the Subject’s Rights and Liberties,
 ‘ but that his Royal Word and Command, im-
 ‘ pofing Loans and Taxes without Consent of
 ‘ Parliament, *Does oblige the Subject’s Confcience*
 ‘ *upon Pain of eternal Damnation*: That thofe
 ‘ who refufed to pay this Loan did offend againft
 ‘ the

' the Law of God, and became guilty of Impiety,
 ' Disloyalty and Rebellion; and that' the Au-
 ' thority of Parliaments is not necessary for rais-
 ' ing of Aids and Subsidies. Every Body knew
 ' *Abbot* was averse to such Doctrines, and to
 ' seek an Advantage against him, *Sibthorp's*
 ' Sermon, with a Dedication to the King, was
 ' sent him by Order of his Majesty to licence.
 ' *Abbot* refused, and gave his Reasons in Writ-
 ' ing, which Bishop *Laud* answered, and with
 ' his own Hand licenced both *Sibthorp's* and
 ' *Manwaring's* Sermons; upon this Archbishop
 ' *Abbot* was confined to his Country-house, and
 ' suspended from his Function; the Administra-
 ' tion of which was committed to Bishop *Laud*,
 ' and some others of his Recommendation.'

After the King had parted with his second
 Parliament, and had been shifting for himself as
 well as he could; the Necessity of his Affairs,
 and the Advice of some about him, prevailed
 with him to call a third; to make Way for which,
 the Gentlemen confined for refusing the Loan-
 Money, were set at Liberty. Upon the Meet-
 ing of this Parliament, a great many bold
 Speeches were made; ' Nor could it be imag-
 ' ned, says my Lord *Clarendon*, that those Men
 ' would meet again in a free Convention of Par-
 ' liament, without a sharp and severe Expostu-
 ' lation and Inquisition into their own Right
 ' and the Power that had imposed on that Right
 One main Thing they complained of was the
 Loans. ' Let us not flatter ourselves, says Sir
 ' *Edward Coke*, who will give Subsidies if the
 ' King may impose what he will? And if after
 ' Parliament the King may inhaunce what he
 ' pleaseth? I know the King will not do it:
 ' He is a religious King, free from personal
 Vices,

An. 1627.

Vol. I. p. 5.

Parlia-
ment.

complains

of Griev-

ances.

Rushworth,

p. 501.

‘ Vices, but he deals with other Mens Hands,
 ‘ and sees with other Mens Eyes:’ And having
 asserted, that the King cannot tax any by way
 of Loans, he gives Reasons for it; to which
 Purpose he produces a *noble Record*, as he calls
 it, worthy to be written in Letters of Gold. *It*
cheers me, says he, to think of it (it is the twenty
fifth of Edward the Third.) Loans against the
Will of the Subject are against Reason, and the
Franchises of the Land. The Lord may tax his
Villain high or low; but it is against the Franchi-
ses of the Land for Freemen to be taxed, but by
their Consent in Parliament: He adds, In Mag-
na Charta, it is provided, That nullus Liber Ho-
mo capiatur, vel imprisonetur, aut disseisietur de
Libro Tenemento suo, &c. nisi per legale Jud-
cium Parium Suorum, vel per Legem Ter-
ræ; That no Freeman should be taken and impri-
soned, and dispossessed of his Freehold, but by the
Law of the Land: Which Charter hath been
confirmed by good Kings above thirty Times.
 To the same Purpose others of them complain,
 enlarging on this and such like Grievances.
 The Deputy-Lieutenants, says Sir Robert Phi-
 lips, demand upon their Warrant such a Sum of
 the People, telling them they must pay it, or
 be bound to their good Behaviour, and sent up
 to the Lords of the Council; which, says he,
 is the strangest Engine to rend the Liberty of
 the Subject that ever was.

Nor did they think the Danger of their Li-
 berty greater than that of their Religion; and
 therefore you will find their Expostulations as
 warm upon the one Hand as the other. Thus
 Secretary Coke, in a Conference between the
 Lords and Commons, takes Notice of a popish
Heirarchy established in Competition with that of
 the Protestants. *They have, says he, a Bishop*
consecrated by the Pope; this Bishop hath his

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Subalternate Officers of all Kinds; as Vicars-General, Arch-Deans, Rural-Deans, &c. Neither are these Titular Officers, but they all execute their Jurisdictions, and make their ordinary Visitations through the Kingdom, keep Courts, and determine Ecclesiastical Causes; and, which is an Argument of more Consequence, they keep ordinary Intelligence by their Agents in Rome, and hold Correspondence with the Nuncios and Cardinals, both in Brussels and in France: Neither are the Seculars alone grown to this Height; but the Regulars are more active and dangerous, and have taken deep Root: They have already planted their Colleges and Societies of both Sexes. They have settled Revenues, Houses, Libraries, Vestments, and all other necessary Provisions to travel or stay at Home: They intend to hold a concurrent Assembly with this Parliament.

And thus they went on with their Remonstrances and Complaints, which so far disgusted the Court, that soon after a Supply was granted, this Parliament also was dissolved, and that with strange Circumstances of Passion on all Sides, and with a Declaration and Profession, says Lord Clarendon, *That since for several ill Ends the calling again of a Parliament was divulged; however his Majesty had shewed by his frequent meeting with his People his Love to the Use of Parliaments; yet the late Abuse having for the present driven his Majesty unwillingly out of that Course, he shall account it Presumption of any to prescribe any Time to his Majesty for Parliaments; which Words, says he, were generally interpreted, as if no more Assemblies of that Nature were to be expected, and that all Men were prohibited upon Penalty of Censure, so much as to speak of a Parliament. The same Historian adds, And here I cannot but let myself loose to say, that no Man can shew me a Source from whence those*
Waters

Waters of Bitterness we now taste, have more probably flowed, than from these unreasonable, unskilful, and precipitate Dissolutions of Parliaments. And having lamented this, and censured some Speeches made in the House of Commons, as wanting due Reverence to his Majesty and his Councils, he is pleased to add, I do not know any formed Act of either House, (for neither the Remonstrance nor Votes of the last Day were such) that was not agreeable to the Wisdom and Justice of great Courts upon these extraordinary Occasions; and whoever considers the Acts of Power and Injustice of some of the Ministers in those Intervals of Parliament, will not be scandalized at the Warmth and Vivacity of those Meetings.

The King having thus taken Leave of his Parliament, and as some were ready to suspect, and he himself seemed to threaten, of Parliaments, he was forced to forsake the usual, safe and legal Method of raising Money, and, instead thereof, assume a Power that did not consist with the Constitution, and at last proved fatal to it. My Lord Clarendon owns, that many unjust Projects of all Kinds, (*viz.* for raising Money) many ridiculous, many scandalous, *all very grievous*, were set on Foot; the Envy and Reproach of which came to the King, the Profit to other Men. Tonage and Poundage, says he, and other Duties upon Merchandizes were collected by Order of the Board, which had been positively refused to be settled by Act of Parliament; new and great Impositions laid upon Trade: Obsolete Laws were revived and rigorously executed; as that concerning Knighthood, by which every one that had 40 *L. per Annum* in Rent, was obliged to come and receive the Order of Knighthood: A Proclamation in the Year 1630. allowed those that would not purchase this Honour to com-

pound,

History of
England,
lib. 1. p. 5.

History of
Rebellion,
ib. 1. p. 67.

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pound; upon Refusal of which, many were prosecuted to their very great Trouble and Charge: Another of these Devices was the enlarging the Royal Forests beyond their ancient Bounds, by Means of which several Gentlemen had their Estates called in question, and were severely fined (on Pretence of encroaching upon his Majesty's Forests) whose Families had been in the quiet Possession for hundreds of Years.

But that which, of all others, was most scan-Ship-Mo-
dalous and offensive, tho' it turned to the best^{ney}.
Account to his Majesty, (I mean brought in the
greatest Supply;) was the Project of *Ship-Mo-
ney*, which was a Tax laid upon the several Port-
Towns, with the Assistance and Contribution of
the Counties adjoining for the setting out Ships.
The City of *London* was required to furnish twenty Ships, with all Manner of Tackle, Sea-Stores
and Ammunition; and when the Lord Mayor
and Commonalty petitioned the Council for Abatement, they were told the former Command
was necessary, and as it was given to all in general, and every Particular of the City, so the
State will require an Account both of the City in general, and of every Particular; and whereas
they mentioned Precedents, they were told the
Precedents of former Times were *Obedience* not
Direction; and that Precedents were not wanting for the Punishment of those that disobey his *Rushworth*,
Majesty's Commands: The Lord *Clarendon* gives Vol. I Part
a more particular Account of this Matter, which ^{2. p. 416.}
I shall subjoin. 'A Writ, says he, was framed
'in a Form of Law, and directed to the Sheriffs
'of every County of *England* to provide a Ship
'of War for the King's Service; and to send it
'amply provided and fitted by such a Day to
'such a Place; and with that Writ were sent
'to each Sheriff Instructions, that instead of a
Ship,

‘ Ship, he should levy upon his County such a
 ‘ Sum of Money, and return the same to the
 ‘ Treasurer of the Navy for his Majesty’s Use,
 ‘ with Direction how he should proceed against
 ‘ such as refused; by which Tax, for some Years,
 ‘ there accrued the yearly Sum of Two hundred
 ‘ thousand Pounds to the King’s Coffers.’

Clarendon,
 Lib. I.
 p. 68.

Lib. I.
 p. 70.

It seems the Honour of this Project belongs to *Noy* the Attorney-General, who alledged, in Vindication of it, ‘ That, when the Kingdom is in
 ‘ imminent Danger, the King may raise Money,
 ‘ by his own Authority, without hazarding its
 ‘ Ruin, by attending tedious Formalities in
 ‘ raising it otherwise;’ Which Case was afterwards, upon Mr. *Hambden*’s Refusal to pay what was demanded of him, publicly urged with great Solemnity, before all the Judges in *England* in the Exchequer-Chamber, and by much the major Part of them, the King’s Right to impose asserted, and the Tax adjudged lawful. But this was neither for the Judge’s Credit nor his Majesty’s Service. It cannot be expressed, says my Lord *Clarendon*, what Damage and Mischief the Crown sustained by the deserved Reproach and Infamy that attended the Judges; by being made use of in this and the like Acts of Power. There being no Possibility to preserve the Dignity, Reverence, and Estimation of the Laws, but by the Integrity and Innocency of the Judges. He takes Notice in the foregoing Page, that the Pressure (of Ship-Money) was born with much more Cheerfulness before the Judgment for the King (against *Hambden*) than ever it was after, many being willing to do something they were not bound to, as a Testimony of their Affection to the King; expecting when they should be weary, they might resort to the Law for Relief, and find it: But when they heard this demand-
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ed in a Court of Law as a Right, and found it by sworn Judges of the Law adjudged so, upon such Grounds and Reasons as every Stander-by was able to *swear was not Law*; and, instead of giving, were required to pay, and by a Logick, that left no Man any Thing he might call his own, they looked upon it then (says he) the Case of the Kingdom, and thought themselves *bound in Conscience*, to the publick Justice, not to submit to it.

The *Star-Chamber*, the *High Commission Court* were a standing Oppression to the Nation. The same great Historian last mentioned, speaking of these, particularly the *Star-Chamber* (with the Council) says, 'For the better Support of these extraordinary Ways, and to protect the Agents and Instruments, who must be employed in them, and to support all Opposers, the Council-Table and Star-Chamber enlarged their Jurisdiction to a vast Extent, holding (as *Thucycides* said of the *Athenians*) for honourable, that which pleased; and for just, that which profited; and being the same Persons in several Rooms, grew both Courts of Law to determine Right, and Courts of Revenue to bring Money into the Treasury; the Council-Table by Proclamations enjoining to People what was not enjoined by Law, and prohibiting what was not prohibited; and the Star-Chamber censuring the Breach and Disobedience to these Proclamations, by very great Fines and Imprisonment: So that any Disrespect to any Acts of State, or to the Persons of Statesmen, was in no Time more penal; and those Foundations of Right, by which Men valued their Security, to the Apprehensi-
 Lib. 1.
 on and Understanding of wise Men, never more p. 68.
 in Danger to be destroyed.' In short, these

Courts were a *Sort of Inquisitions* in which the best Subjects in the Nation were harassed and tortured; an Emblem of which was *Wentworth's*, (afterwards Lord *Strafford*) Council in the *North*.

It was indeed the grand Mistake and special Infelicity of this Government, that the King encouraged those about him, that drew him to neglect both Law and Parliaments; in which Service *Strafford* and *Laud* were supposed chief Instruments. It was witnessed against *Strafford* at his Trial, that he should say at *York-Affizes*, that nothing could content some but Law, but *Rushworth*, they should know the *King's Little finger should be*
 Part 2d. *heavier than the Loins of the Law*: And it seems
 p. 146. the King was so far flattered into an Opinion of his Absoluteness, that, in Answer to the Commons Remonstrance, *Anno 1629.* he expressly tells them, that he was not bound to give an Account of his Actions to any but God only; and when it was told him, that his demanding Ship-Money was unprecedented, he answered, Precedents were not wanting for the Punishment of them that disobey the King's Commands.

Laud's
serious Con-
duct in the
Affairs
of the
Church.

Besides these manifest and gross Invasions upon the civil Rights of the Subject, sundry Steps were taken in the Conduct of the Church, and the Management of Ecclesiastical Affairs, that not only disgusted particular Persons, but alarmed the greatest Part of the Nation. It is known that Archbishop *Laud* was at the Head of these Affairs. He had so much the Ascendant in the King's Council, that if the King on the Throne was greater than he, yet, according to his Word, was all the People ruled. But, alas! what a perfect *Phaeton* was he, driving the Chariot so furiously as to set all on Fire, or rather, like the *Theorist's*
 Tail.

Tail of a Comet, deluging these poor Nations in Confusion and Blood.

One notable Contrivance he had, which afterwards admirably served his Purpose; he provided a List of Ecclesiastical Persons, (which was presented to the King by *Buckingham*) in two Columns, distinguished by the Letters *O* and *P*, the one standing for Orthodox, the other Puritan, (the one being Elect, the other Reprobate) by which Means he hoped to bring the Church into good Hands, and furnish himself with Tools to work by: And what Innovations, and indeed Dissolutions he made during his Pontificate, is too well known. He commanded the *Communion-Table* to be set Alar-ways, to be failed in, requiring Persons to * bow towards it; provided Candlesticks, Tapers, Copes for administering the Sacrament; had a large Crucifix over the High Altar; and in the Windows of his Chappel, the *Picture of God himself, in the Form of an old Man*, with a Glory round about his Head.

Rushworth,
Part 1.
p. 67.

And so zealously intent was he about these Things, as if the whole Religion had lain in them; prosecuting all with the utmost Severity, that should refuse to comply with his Injunctions, or withstand his Humour therein. Mr. *Cancey*, Minister of *Ware* in *Hertfordshire*, was brought into the High Commission, for opposing the making a Rail about the Communion-Table in his Parish-Church, and was there pronounced guilty of Contempt of Ecclesiastical Government, and of Schism; suspended from his Ministry, condemned in great Costs of Suit, and imprisoned till he paid the same, or recanted.

Mr 2

Mr.

* Among the Statutes he sent down to the Cathedral of *Canterbury*, which the Prebends and Chapter swore to, one was, That as they came in and out of the Quire, they should worship towards the Altar, *Adorare versus Altare*.

Rush-
worth, P.

2. P. 316.

Mr. *Sherfield*, Recorder of *Sarum*, and a Justice of Peace for the same City, fell under the like Discipline. It seems he took Offence at a Picture in their Church, which was of God the Father, represented in a Window of painted Glass, as an old Man in a blue and red Coat: To which some old Women, when they passed by, were observed to pay their Respects; but being asked to whom they made their Courtesies, answered, *It was to their God in the Glass-Window*: Mr. *Sherfield* being justly offended at this foolish Superstition, moved the Parish at a Vestry, that he might have Liberty to take away these offensive Pictures, and put up white Glass in the Room, which the Parishoners consent to, and the Thing is done; for which Fact this busy presumptuous Reformer was called to an Account in the Star-Chamber, accused as being evil-affected to the Discipline of the Church of *England*, and encouraging such as opposed its Government under the Reverend Bishops; representing that he had unlawfully, riotously, and *profanely broke down that Glass-Window*, in Scorn of his Majesty's Government; and, in Conclusion, he was displaced from being Recorder, fined Five hundred Pound, and bound to his good Behaviour: Others were suspended and excommunicated, for speaking against Images and Crucifixes, as was Mr. *John Workman*, a Minister at *Gloucester*; and whereas the Corporation had settled an Annuity, of Twenty Pound *per Annum*, upon him in Consideration of his Diligence in preaching and numerous Family, the Mayor and Aldermen were on this very Account prosecuted at the Council-Table and High Commission, and at last had a Fine imposed upon them: Nay, it seems the angry Bishop carried his Resentment to such an Height, that he would not suffer the poor
Man

Rush-

worth.

P.

2. P. 153.

Ec.

Man so much as to teach School, or practise Physick, for the Support of his Wife and Children.

But that which made the greatest Noise of all the rest, and was thought by some to favour not a little of Popery, was the superstitious Manner of *Laud's* consecrating *Catherine Creed Church*, in *London*, which I shall subjoin in the Margin. This being afterwards objected against him in

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St. Catherine Creed Church, being lately repaired, was suspended from Divine Service, Sermons and Sacraments, till it was consecrated; wherefore *Dr. Laud*, Lord Bishop of *London*, on the 16th of *January*, being the Lord's Day, came thither in the Morning to consecrate the same; now, because great Exceptions were taken at the Formality hereof, we will briefly relate the Manner of the Consecration. At the Bishop's Approach to the *West Door* of the Church, some that were prepared for it, cried with a loud Voice, *Open, open*, the everlasting Doors, that the King of Glory may enter in; and presently the Doors were opened, and the Bishop, with some Doctors, and many other principal Men, went in, and immediately falling down upon his Knees, with his Eyes lifted up, and his Arms spread, uttered these Words, *This Place is Holy, this Ground is Holy*, in the Name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, I pronounce it Holy. Then he threw up some of the Dust into the Air, several Times: In his going up toward the Chancel, when they approach near to the Rail of the Communion Table, the Bishop bowed towards it several Times; and returning, they went round the Church in Procession, saying the hundred Psalm, after that the nineteenth Psalm; and then said a Form of Prayer, *Lord Jesus Christ*, &c. And concluding, we consecrate this Church, and separate it to thee as Holy Ground, not to be profaned any more to common Use. After this the Bishop being near the Communion-Table, and taking a written Book in his Hand, pronounced Curses upon those that should afterwards profane that Holy Place, by Musters of Soldiers, or keeping profane Law-Courts, or carrying Burdens through it; and at the End of every Curse, he bowed toward the East, and said, *Let all the People say*, Amen: When the Curses were ended, he pronounced a Number of Blessings, upon all those that had a Hand in framing or building of that sacred and beautiful Church; and those that had given or should hereafter give any Chalice, Plate, Ornaments or Utensils; at the End of every Blessing, he bowed towards the East, saying, *Let all the People say*, Amen. After this followed the Sermon, which, being ended, the Bishop consecrated and administered the Sacrament, in Manner following: As he approached the Communion-Table, he made many lowly Bowings, and coming up to the Side of the Table, where Bread and Wine were covered, he bowed seven Times; and then after the reading of many Prayers, he came near the Bread, and gently

Parliament, as an Evidence of his Inclination to introduce Popery: The Bishop defends the Practice in general, (of consecrating Churches) from the Example of *Solomon, Hezekiah, &c.* and of *Constantine*: Maintained that he came to the Church not in a pompous Manner, (as was alledged) *but only in a grave and seemly Manner*; he grants he fell down upon his Knees; but that was no more than his Duty; for so did *Moses* and *Aaron* at the Door of the Tabernacle: And for the Form of Consecration, he said Bp. *Andrews* made it. And to the Objection, That the Form of Prayer he used was taken out of the *Mass-Book* and *Roman Pontifical*, he replied, It may be so; and many other very good Prayers are in it. I do not say, that this proves *Laud* a full Papist, nor that he and those that joined with him in his strange Measures, had any Purpose of introducing and settling entire Popery in the Nation; but I think one may say, with the noble Lord *Falkland*, that they were for trying how much of a Papist might be brought in without Popery; he goes a little further indeed, and says, It was as much as Fifteen hundred Pound a Year, could hinder some of them, from declaring themselves directly Papists; and it seems, the Papists themselves

gently lifted up the Corner of the Napkin, wherein the Bread was laid; and when he beheld the Bread, he laid it down again, *flew back a Step or two*, bowed three several Times towards it, then he drew near again and opened the Napkin, and bowed as before: Then he laid his Hand on the Cup, which was full of Wine, with a Cover upon it; which he let go again, *went back and bowed thrice towards it*: Then he came near again, and lifting up the Cover of the Cup, looked into it, and seeing the Wine, he let fall the Cover again, retired back and bowed as before; then he received the Sacrament, and gave it to some Principal Men, after which many Prayers being said, the Solemnity of the Consecration ended. *Rushworth, Part 2d. p. 76. The Consecration of St. Catherine Creed-Church.*

selves had so great an Opinion of *Laud's* Depo-^{Nelson's} sition towards them, that they twice offered him ^{Collect.} a Cardinal's Cap, as he confesses in his Diary; though after all, the learned Book he wrote against *Fisher*, shows he had a great Deal to say against that Religion; and though he often set his Face so, as many thought he was bound for *Rome*, yet it may be he never designed above Half the Way.

It exceedingly added to the Scandal of this ^{Laud's} Papizing, that whilst as good Protestants and ^{Tender-} Church-Men as any in the Kingdom, were brow-^{ness to the} beaten, and torn to Pieces in their Courts, (if ^{Papists.} they could not keep Time, and dance after *Laud's* Pipe;) the *Papists* were treated with the utmost *Tenderness*, not to say hugged and caressed: None must be allowed so much as to write against Popery; and if they presume to do it, their Books were refused Licence; or if they stole into the World, the Authors were sure to be called to an Account and smart for it: Nay, at last an Order past in the Star-Chamber against reprinting any Books without a new Licence: Upon which, the *Books of Martyrs* could not get Leave to appear in the World, nor the Works of *Jewel* and *Willet*, in a new Impression; nor e-^{Russ.} ven the Practice of Piety, though it had ^{worth's} Thirty ^{Collection,} six Editions, without ever being questioned. And ^{Part 2.} it seems so full of Grace was this Doctor to the ^{p. 450.} Catholicks, that he prosecuted Mr. *Gillabrand*, the Mathematical Professor of *Gresham* College, for publishing an *Almanack*, in which he inserted the Names of Protestant Martyrs, out of Mr. *Fox's* Calendar, instead of those pretended Saints, whom the Pope had canonized; and at the same Time, his Chaplain made no Scruple to licence a scandalous Book, in which the first Reformers, who sealed their Religion with their

Withers,
Ibid.

Blood, were stigmatized with the odious Names of *Traitors and Rebels*.

Complete
History of
England
Vol. III.
p. 70.

It is granted, that sometimes the Papists had hard Words given them, and Proclamations were put forth against them; but they pretty well understood the Meaning of it; and were seldom either much affrighted, or much hurt. Dr. *Kennet* owns, 'That, by the Interest of the Queen, the King was often prevailed upon, to grant Letters of Grace and Favour, in Behalf of the Papists, and to direct his Precepts in the Courts of Justice, to stay all Proceedings against them upon Indictment, Presentment, or Information, for Recusancy; and even after their Conviction, Letters of Protection were sent by the Secretary of State to the Judges of the Court, that their Penalties and Fines should not be extended into the Exchequer; many of the Privy-Council were indeed suspected to be inclining to Popery, and some of them died in the *Romish* Religion, as the Lord *Cottington*, and the Lord Treasurer *Weston*.'

Laud's Severity to
the Puritans.

In the mean Time, it increased the Scandal, as I said, that Things were carried with such an high Hand towards the staunchest Protestants in the Nation, if they happened not to have Consciences of *Laud's* Measure and Latitude. To call the Pope *Antichrist*, oppose any of *Laud's* Innovations, or disobey his arbitrary Injunctions, would bring a Man under the Odium of Puritanism, Faction, &c. and, which is worse, exposed him to the merciless Discipline of the High Commission: Thus that of the Poet was again verified, and it may be never more than now.

Dat veniam Corvis, vexat Censura Columbas.

Dr. *Williams*, Bishop of *Lincoln*, was one of those that fell under the Resentment of this warm Prelate,

Prelate, tho' he had been a chief Instrument in his Promotion. It seems the Bishop was not only inclined to shew some Mercy to the Puritans, of which he was accused by *Lamb* and *Sibthorp*: (Crime enough to undo them), but he ventured to write a Book against the Innovations that *Laud* was making, (a Book, says my *Lord Clarendon*, full of good Learning, and that closely and solidly applied), for which, with some other * Offences, the greatest of all, it may be, was his *not Laud's* *in-bowing to Haman*, he was fined ten thousand ^{gratitude} Pounds to the King, suspended by the *high Com-* ^{to Bishop} *mission* from all his Dignities, Offices and Functions, and sentenced to suffer Imprisonment, during his Majesty's Pleasure. *Williams.*

It would be perfectly needless to say, that the *Puritans* or *Nonconformists* met with Severities; they were looked upon by the governing Party of the Church, such Reprobates and Miscreants, that to crush them, was thought no more a Fault than it is with the Papists to destroy Hereticks. The best Provision they could make for themselves ordinarily, was to transport themselves and Families into *New-England*, which yet the Mercy of their Enemies would not always allow them to do, being unwilling, it seems, to lose their Prey.

One Thing further I cannot but take Notice of referring to this Head, That whereas there were several *French* and *Dutch* Churches of Protestants
re-

* This Bishop had shewn himself against the Measures of the Court at that Time; and the Violences of *Laud*, and upon Occasion, appeared for the Privileges of the Subject, according to Law, which made him unacceptable. It is said when the King began to frown on him, he asked the Earl of *Holland*; from whence the Displeasure of the Court should proceed, to which the Earl answered, He must expect worse than being dismissed the Council, *because he was such a Champion for the Petition of Right*; and that there was no Room at the Table for them that liked it.

The *French* received and cherished in this Nation, ever since
and *Dutch* the Beginning of the Reformation, under *Edward*
Churches the Sixth, the Archbishop violently assaults
threatned them, disturbs their Repose, and resolves to
and mo- make them lay aside the Model of their own
lest by Laud. Worship, and conform to the Church of *England*,
as he was forming it; to which Purpose he sends
down his Injunctions to *Canterbury*, that all the
Natives of the *Dutch* and *Walloon* Congregations
in his Grace's Diocese, should repair to their se-

verbal Parish-Churches, where they inhabited, to
hear Divine Service and Sermons, and perform
all Duties and Payments required in that Behalf;
and though the Ministers and others that were
not born Subjects to the King, were (by the
King's interposing on their Behalf) allowed
their own Discipline, and to worship God in
their own Way; yet it was enjoined, that the
English Liturgy should be translated into *French*
and *Dutch*, for the better fitting their Children
to the *English* Government; by which he took
from them the Liberty of bringing up their Chil-
dren in their own Principles. They remonstrate
against these Hardships; he replies that his Ma-
jesty was resolved the Injunction should be obey-
ed; and that he doubted not but they themselves
or their Posterity, would have Cause to thank
both the State and the Church for this Care taken
of them; but if they refused, he must then pro-
ceed against them as Natives, according to the
Laws and Canons Ecclesiastical.

Prosecuti- Another famous Instance of the Moderation
on of *Pryn*, and Mercy of Bishop *Laud* and his Party at that
Bastwick Time, I shall here subjoin. Three noted Gen-
and *Burton*, tlemen of different Professions, *Pryn*, *Bastwick*,
and *Burton*, (the 1st. a Lawyer, the 2^d. a Phy-
sician, the 3^d. a Divine) happened to incur the Dis-
pleasure of the Government, and were proceeded
against

against in the Star-Chamber. The Doctor's
 Offence was writing a Book entituled, *Flagellum*
Pontificis & Episcoporum Latialium, which was
 called a Libel reflecting upon the Hierarchy of
 the Church: Mr. *Burton's* Offence was publish-
 ing a Sermon, preached the 5th of *November*,
 wherein he charged the Prelates for introducing
 several Innovations in divine Worship. Mr.
Pryn was the Arch-Offender, he published a
 large Treatise called, *Histrio-Mastix*, against
 Stage-Plays; 'Where, says Dr. *Kennet*, by very *Ibid. p. 62.*
 'profuse Collections, he exposed the Liberties
 'of the Stage, and because the Court became
 'now more addicted to these ludicrous Enter-
 'tainments, and the Queen herself was so fond
 'of the Amusement, that she bore the Part of a
 'Pastoral in her own Royal Person; therefore
 'this Treatise against Plays was supposed to be
 'levelled against the Practices of the Court, and
 'the Example of the Queen; and it was suppo-
 'sed an *Innuendo*, that in the Table of the Book
 'this Reference was put, *Women Actors notori-*
 '*ous Whores*; thereby, as was alledged, reflect-
 'ing upon her Majesty: The Attorney-Gene-
 'ral prosecuted *Pryn* for this Libel in the Star-
 'Chamber, *Laud* being the Instrument and A-
 'bettor of the Process, by shewing the Book to
 'the King, and pointing at the Offensive Parts
 'of it, and by employing Dr. *Heylyn* to pick out
 'all the virulent Passages, and give the severest
 'Turn unto them; and lastly, by carrying those
 'Notes to the Attorney-General for Matter of
 'Information, and urging him earnestly to pro-
 'ceed against the Author: Which tho' a Prelate
 'might do, (says the Doctor) with sincere Inten-
 'tion to suppress Libelling, and to assert the Res-
 'pect to crowned Heads, yet it was looked up-
 'on by some serious Men, as a giving Counte-
 'nance

' nance to the Profaneness and Licentiousness of
' the Stage, which ought rather to have been re-
' proved and restrained by a Christian Bishop.'

Well these were their Offences. The Sen-
tence was that they should stand in the Pillory,
and lose their Ears at the *Palace-Yard* at *Westmin-*
ster, should pay a Fine of 5000 Pound each to
the King, and be imprisoned during Life, which
Ibid. p. 72. they were in three remote Places, one in the
Castle of *Lanceston*, in *Cornwall*, another in the
Castle of *Lancaster*, and a third in *Carnarvan*
Castle in *Wales*; from whence they were after-
wards removed to three Islands, and no Access
of Friends allowed to them.

I must observe as to *Pryn*, more Pains is ta-
ken to convict and punish him too than the rest.
The Attorney-General in setting forth his Case
in the Star-Chamber, takes Notice that he had
printed a libellous Volume against Plays, Mas-
ques, &c. altho' he knew that his Majesty's
Royal Queen, Lords of the Council, &c. were
in their publick Festivals and other Times pre-
sent Spectators of some Masques and Dances, &c.
yet he had railed not only against Stage-Plays,
Comedies, Dancing, &c. but against Christmas-
keeping and May-poles, &c. which it seems is
thought so flagrant a Crime, as to deserve a ve-
ry heavy Punishment, viz. that his Book be
burnt, that he himself be put from the Bar, be
for ever incapable of his Profession; and because
he was bred at *Oxford*, there to be degraded;
(at the mentioning of *Oxford*, *Laud* says with a
low Voice, *I am sorry that Oxford ever bred such*
a Member): To which is to be added the Loss
of both his Ears, with the Imprisonment and Fine
before mentioned.

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Nor are they only watchful to observe what is ^{Afternoon-}printed and preached, but seem jealous of preach-^{Sermons &}ing itself; and therefore, as if they were afraid ^{Catechising put}the People should receive Damage that Way, a ^{down by}severe Order was published by the Archbishop ^{Ar. Bishop}for the putting down *all Afternoon-Sermons*, un-^{Laud.}der Pretence of complying with his Majesty's Instructions of catechising by Question and Answer; and which one would think very peculiar, not only all other Catechisms, except that in the Common-Prayer were prohibited, but all Expositions even of this Catechism, which Bishop *Wren* declared as bad as a Sermon: Not a few of the Ministers were suspended for disobeying this Order: Dr. *Pierce* Bishop of *Bath and Wells*, distinguished himself by his Zeal against Afternoon-Sermons, and so effectually suppress the dangerous and ill Practice of Preaching twice a Day, that he gave God Thanks that he had not one Lecture left in all his Diocess. Mr. *Devenish*, Minister of *Bridgwater*, was suspended by him for preaching in the Lord's Day-Evening, tho' a Funeral Sermon; and another was called to an Account for having two Sermons in his Church on *the Parish Revel-Day*; the Bishop alledging, that it was an Hindrance to the Revel, and to the Utterance of the Church-Ale: Another of his Clergy (Mr. *Erford*) was summoned for preaching on a *Revel-Day* upon Joel's *Exhortation to Fasting, Weeping and Mourning*, and was told that his very Text was scandalous to the Revel: Nay, when some only enlarged on the ^{Canterbu-}Questions and Answers in the Church Catechism, ^{ry's Doom,}without attempting to preach, they were sharply ^{p. 376, &c.}rebuked by their Diocesan, and told, *It was catechising Sermon wise, and as bad as Preaching.*

But

Complete
History of
England,
Vol. III.
p. 66.

But nothing was more offensive to the soberest Part of the Nation, than the infamous Book of Sports mentioned before, which was generally believed; (and *Pryn* endeavours to prove against him at his Trial) was contrived by Archbishop *Laud*: The immediate Occasion of it seems to be this; a Complaint being made concerning Ales and Revels upon the Wakes, or Feasts of the Dedication of Churches in *Somersetshire*, the Lord Chief Justice *Richardson*, and Baron *Denham* in their Circuit in that County, made the following Order.

Whereas divers Orders have been made heretofore by Judges of the Assize, for the Suppression of all Ales and Revels; the same Order is now confirmed at the Assizes, in regard of the infinite Number of Inconveniencies daily arising by Means of Revels (many having been indicted for murdering Bastard Children, begotten at Wakes and Revels). It is again ordered by the Court, that such Revels, Church-Ales, Clerk-Ales, and all other publick Ales, be henceforth utterly suppressed; and to the End this may be observed, it is further ordered, that the Clerk of the Assizes shall leave Copies hereof with the Ministers of every Parish within his several Hundred, and shall give a Note under his Hand, that he shall publish it yearly within the Parish, the first Sunday in February, and likewise the second Sunday before Easter yearly.

Wakes defended by the Archbishop.

The Archbishop took Fire at this, complained to the King of the Irregularity of the Judges, writes to the Bishop of *Bath and Wells* to know how these Feasts were observed. The Bishop answered, That the ancient Custom of those Feasts was laudable and innocent, that the

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the late Suppression was very unacceptable, and the Restitution of them would be grateful to the Clergy, Gentry and Common People; upon which the Lord Chief Justice was reproved at the Council-Table, severely checked, and, as he expresses it, *almost chocked with a Pair of Lawn-Sleeves*; and, in Conclusion, was enjoined publickly to revoke his own Order.

The Gentlemen of that County hearing of this, joined in a Petition to his Majesty, That no Encouragement might be given to those riotous and lewd Assemblies: But *Laud* was nearer to the King every Way than they; and, by his Interest with him, prevailed, that instead of suppressing yearly Wakes, to have every *Sunday* Book of in effect turned into a Wake; which was done Sports revived by the Arch- by reviving the Book of Sports, put forth in King *James's* Time. bishop.

* Wherein it was declared, as his Majesty's
 * Pleasure, that the Laws of the Kingdom, and
 * Canons of the Church, be well observed and
 * that no lawful Recreation be barred to his good
 * People, which shall not tend to the Breach of
 * the foresaid Laws and Canons (not one Word
 * of the Laws of God;) that, after the End of
 * Divine Service, his good People be not disturbed, or let from any lawful Recreation, such
 * as, Dancing, Archery, Leaping, Vaulting, &c.
 * tho' none must have this Indulgence, that abstain from coming to Church, or yet are not
 * present at Divine Service, before their going
 * to the said Recreations.' This was the pious
 * Care of King *James*, which, being now renewed,
 * it is added, 'Out of the *like pious Care* for the
 * Service of God (which one would think was
 * a Banter, put in by some Puritan, or other
 * Person evil-affected to his Majesty's Government) and for suppressing of any Humours that
 * oppose

‘ oppose Truth, and for the Ease, Comfort and
 ‘ Recreation of his well deserving People, his
 ‘ Majesty doth ratify and publish, this his blessed
 ‘ Father’s Declaration, the rather, because in
 ‘ some County’s under Pretence of taking away
 ‘ some Abuses.’ There hath been a general for-
 bidding not only of ordinary Meetings, but of
 the Feast of the Dedication of Churches, com-
 monly called *Wakes*: Now his Majesty’s ex-
 press Will and Pleasure is, That these Feasts be
 observed, and that none do trouble or molest any
 of his loyal or dutiful People, for their lawful
 Recreations, *on the Sabbath Day*.

Nor was this sent out into the Nation, with the
 like Indifferency, as if it had been against Im-
 morality and Prophaneness, but was armed with
 Power, and accomplished with Zeal; all the Mi-
 nisters of the Kingdom, were enjoined to read
 the Declaration, in their Churches, in the Time
 of divine Service, and several of them were sus-
 pended for refusing it: Sir *Nathaniel Brent* at-
 tested on Oath, that being the *Archbishop’s Vicar*,
 he had express Orders from his Grace, to sus-
 pend all such as would not read the *Book of Sports*,
 in the Diocess of *Canterbury*.

Withers,
p. 30.

And if we cast an Eye to *Scotland*, we shall
 find the Conduct of this unhappy Man, no less
 violent and mischievous there. He threw all
 into the utmost Confusion, and by a strange Zeal,
 that one cannot well call by its proper Name,
 carried Things to such Extremities, as bred a
 great deal of ill Blood, brought on a War be-
 tween *K. Charles* and the *Scots*: And had like
 to have mined both Kingdoms, and would have
 done it, had not Providence remarkably inter-
 posed. That this may appear, I will touch a little
 upon the *Scots Affairs*. King *James*, after his
 Accession

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Accession to the Throne of *England*, made several Innovations in the Government of the Church of *Scotland*, notwithstanding he had formerly declared so warmly for it, as he did in the *General Assembly* at *Edinburgh*, 1594, where having applauded their Kirk, as the sincerest in the World, he adds, I charge ye, my good People, Doctors, Elders, Nobles, Gentlemen and Barons, to stand to your *Purity*, and to exhort the People to do the same, and I, as long as I brook my Life and Crown, shall maintain the same: And when he took leave of them, he gave them Assurances, that their Discipline and Government should not be altered; and yet, alas! forgot himself (a Fault he often run into.) 'He obtained an Act for a publick Liturgy, in a *General Assembly* at *Aberdeen*, 1616. and some Conclusions agreeable to the *English* Church, in another Assembly at *Perth* 1618. besides this, he brought some *Scots* Bishops (for Titular Bishops they had before, who voted in Parliament, tho' subject to the Assembly, and owning themselves not superiour in Order, to the Rest of their Brethren) to be consecrated by *English* Prelates, in 1610, set up a high Commission for the ordering Causes Ecclesiastical. He allowed an Absolution in *England*, to the Marquess of *Huntley*, who stood excommunicated in *Scotland*; past an Article in Parliament, 1617, That whatever his Majesty should determine in the external Government of the Church, with the Advice of the *Archbishops*, *Bishops*, and a competent Number of the Ministry, should have the Strength of a Law.

His Son by the Influence of his great Manager went further, and improved upon these Beginnings. In the Year 1633, when he was

crowned in *Scotland*, he attempts the Reducing their Church to a Conformity with that of *England*; to which Purpose, the Bishop of *London* (*Laud*) preached in the Royal Chappel, and insisted upon the Benefits of Conformity, and the Reverence due to the Ceremonies of the Church: And tho' such Discourse was far from being to the Gust of the People, the King seems resolved to proceed, and therefore orders a Liturgy to be prepared.

Liturgy
prepared
to *Scotland*
by *Laud*.

Laud had the Management of this Matter, but thought fit to interest some of the *Scots* Bishops in it, who (*April 2. 1625.*) acquaint his Grace by Letter, 'That they wish a full Conformity in the Churches, that they had made a further Progress, than could be expected, and hoped still to go further, if it pleased God to continue his Grace in Health and Life.' The next Year the Work is brought to some Perfection, being distinguished from the *English* Liturgy in sundry Particulars, which were *Laud's* Improvements, viz. That in their Calendar, they should keep such Catholick Saints, as were in the *English*, with such other Saints, as were peculiar to that Kingdom. That in ordaining Presbyters, they should keep the Words of the *English* Book, *Receive ye the Holy Ghost*, &c. that they insert more Chapters out of the *Apocrypha* in the Lessons. That every Bishop use this Service twice a Day, and cause that the Universities do the same; and with these Corrections, it was confirmed by his Majesty's Declaration, dated at *Edinburgh*, *October 20. 1636.*

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History of
England,
Vol. III.
p. 80.

How the
Service
was re-
ceived in
Scotland.

It was first publicly read in the great Church in *Edinburgh*, *July 23, 1637.* but with such an Uproar and Outcry of the People, as very much disturbed the Harmony of the New Worship: Some of the People crying out, *A Pope, a Pope, Antichrist,*

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Antichrist, Antichrist, *Stone him, Stone him*, meaning the *Dean* that was the Reader; and it seems one pert Woman, *Jannet Geddes*, was so much enraged, that she flung the Stool on which she sat at the *Dean's* Head, saying, *Out, thou false Thief, dost thou say the Mass at my Lug?* The Bishop of *Edinburgh* gets up to the Pulpit, to appease the angry Folk, but neither his Endeavours, nor those of the *Archbishop* of St. *Andrew's* could prevail any Thing, till the Magistrates interposed, and thrust them out of the Church; after which the *Dean* returned to his Service, the People in the mean Time, thundring at the Doors, shut against them, and throwing in Stones at the Windows; and when the Work of the Day was over, and the *Archbishop* was retiring, the enraged People assaulted him with so much Violence, that, had he not been seasonably rescued, his Life had been in Danger: And something of the like Opposition, was made in other Churches, wherever they tried to set up the New Service.

One Thing that very much heightened the Resentments of the Nation, was the Spirit and Character of these Bishops. My Lord *Falkland* says, that *Laud* obtruded upon the Church of *Scotland* such Bishops, as corresponded best with his own Humour, who, by their insolent and imprudent Management, disobliged all Sorts of People: And the late *Bishop of Sarum* says of these Prelates, ' That they endeavoured in their Sermons and Discourses to lessen the Prejudice of that Nation against the *Papists*, mollifying their Opinions, and commending their Persons, not without some Reflections on the Reformers; but this was so far, says he, from gaining their Design, that it abated nothing of the Zeal that was against *Popery*, but very much heightened

Rushworth's ' the Rage against themselves, as favouring it
 Part 2d. ' too much: Nor did the Nobility take it well
 Vol. I. p. ' to see the *Churchmen* so much intermeddling
 392. from ' with State-Affairs; nine of whom were Privy-
Hamilton's ' Counsellors, divers of them were of the *Exche-*
 Memoirs. ' *quer*; *Spotswood*, Archbishop of *St. Andrews*,
 ' was made Chancellor, and *Maxwell*, Bishop
 ' of *Ross*, was fair for the Treasury, and engag-
 ' ed in a high Rivalry with the Earl of *Traquair*,
 ' then Treasurer; which, says my Author, tend-
 ' ed not a little to help forward their Ruin.'

Book of
 Canons
 prepared
 for Scot-
 land.

And as the Archbishop provided them with
 Forms for Worship, so with the like Officiouf-
 ness he sent them Rules for Government in a
 Book of Canons, and over and above set up an
 high † *Commission Court* among them, having ex-
 perience the good Effects of it in *England*. One
 Particular in the Management of these Canons is
 odd enough. Tho' they referred to the Liturgy,
 and established it, yet in so much Haste were
 they to bless their Neighbours with these wise
 Laws, that they were published about a Year,
 says my Lord *Clarendon*, before the Liturgy was
 seen or heard, which made the Case somewhat
 like that of the Ministers in *England*, at the Time
 of the *Bartholomew Act*, which obliged them on
 Penalty of being silenced, to declare their un-
 feigned Assent and Consent to the Book of Com-
 mon-Prayer, some Lord's Days before *Bartholo-*
mew, when most of them neither had nor possibly
 could

† The late Bishop of *Sarum*, giving some Account of this, thus intro-
 duces it; as if all Things, says he, were conspiring to carry on their Ru-
 in; the Bishops procured Warrants from the King to set up Commissions
 in their several Diocesses, in which they themselves, with other Assessors,
 all of their own Nomination, might punish Offenders. (*Memoirs of Ha-*
milton.)

could see it ; it not being published till the Eve of the Day, or thereabouts.

Nor was the Matter of these Injunctions very acceptable to the *Scots*. One of them requires, That no Clergyman shall conceive Prayers *ex tempore*, but be bound to pray only by the Forms used in the Liturgy (*i. e.* of the Liturgy *that should be*, for as yet it was not;) and supposing the Canons immediately in Force, Mr. *Withers's* Inference must be good, that this was in effect the renewing the Decree of the *Persian* Monarch; That no Man should offer any Petition to the God of Heaven for so long a Time, *i. e.* from the 23d of *May* 1635. when the Canons were established by the King's Authority, to *October* 20. 1636. (or near it) when the Liturgy received its Sanction. They had many other invidious Things in them, such as a Declaration of the unlimited Power, and full personal Supremacy of their King: That all Bishops and Clergymen should bequeath something to the Church: That no Presbyter should reveal any Thing received in Confession, and other Provisos very new and odious to the common People; because they would not understand them, says Dr. *Kennet*; (but I think one might as well say could not.)

It was hinted what Reception that Service-Book met with, when it first appeared; and tho' the King seemed resolved to carry his Point, and therefore sent another peremptory Command for the reading it; it was without Success. Petitions were presented against the Liturgy and Canons, one in the Name of Men, Women and Children, and even the Servants: Others in the Name of divers Noblemen, Gentlemen, Ministers and Burgessees, which were followed with Protestations, and what they called the

Complete *Tables*, which were distinct Committees, who
History of were to consider what was to be propounded at
England, the *General Table*, that consisted of several Com-
Vol. III. missioners chosen from the four *principal Tables*.
p. 88.

The *Scots* And here the *Covenant* was made 1638. in De-
Covenant, fence of their Religion, Laws and Liberties, sub-
in Defence scribed by Noblemen, Barons, Burgesses, Mi-
of their Re- nisters and Commons; and not finding Satisfacti-
ligion and on in the King's Concessions, after some Over-
Liberties. tures made, they flee to Arms, and raise Forces,
which they put under the Command of General
Lesley; and this was the blessed Fruits of *Laud's*
Counsels, to this sad Extremity did he bring
Things.

Warbreaks
out be-
tween the
King and
Scots.

The *King* cries out of this Treason; declares
all such as were concerned Rebels, and sends an
Army against them, commanded by the Earl of
Arundel. And whereas the King wanted the As-
sistance of his Parliament in this Exigency, he
makes use of his Prerogative, and calls upon the
Clergy to put too their helping Hand, which
they did, some Diocesses raising 1300 *l.* some
1000 *l.* others 900 *l.* Nor do the Papists refuse to
contribute to maintain the War against the *Scots*
Covenanters; being excited thereto by the
Queen's Letter to them: And well they might,
for nothing could promise fairer for their Interest,
than these unnatural Quarrels between the King
and his Subjects.

The following Confusions and Miseries of the
Nation, in the whole Series and Progress of
them, till the *Fall of King Charles*, cannot here
be related at large, tho' I shall not wholly pass
them over, but touch upon a few Particulars
that had a chief Influence upon the unhappy ci-
vil War, and the Calamities of the Nation at that
Time.

Tho'

Tho' both the *English* and *Scots* armed, neither Side seemed very keen for Action, so that a *Pacification* was easily concluded upon certain Articles, mutually signed, *June 18, 1639*. But this doth not last long, both Sides complain of Breach of Articles; and the *King* being highly disgusted with the *Scots*, commands the *Pacification* to be burnt, and resolves upon a new War, for reducing the Rebels; and the better to carry it on, calls a Parliament, a Thing almost forgot in the Nation, it having been discontinued for twelve Years.

The *Parliament* meets *April 30, 1640*. when ^{A New Parliament after 12 Years Vacancy of} Sir *John Finch*, Lord Keeper, after the King had spoken a few Words, delivers himself in the following Terms: 'His Majesty's Kingly Resolutions are seated in the Ark of his sacred Breast, and it were Presumption of too high a Nature for any *Uzza* uncalled to touch it: Yet his Majesty is now pleased to lay aside the shining Beams of Majesty, as *Phæbus* did to *Phæton*, that the Distance between Sovereignty and Subjection, should not bar you of filial Freedom of Access to his Person and Counsels; only let us beware, how with the Son of *Clymene*, we aim not at the guiding the Chariot, as if it were the only Testimony of fatherly Affection: And let us ever remember, that tho' the King sometimes lays by the Beams and Rays of his Majesty, he never lays by Majesty itself.' The Sense of this peculiar Oratory, says Dr. *Kennet*, was to this Effect, That his Majesty was resolved to reduce his disaffected Subjects in *Scotland*, that he would by no Means admit their Mediation; but before they entred on any Debates, he expected their immediate Aid, and afterwards would give them Time to

consider of any just Grievances to be heard and redressed.

But these Gentlemen came together with too great a Sense of the Nations Danger, and the Oppressions they had groined under, to be silent on the Head of Grievances, or to suffer any Thing to be preferred to the main End they were chosen for, which was, *As true Patriots, to stand up for the Liberties of their Country, and to rescue it out of its languishing Condition:* And besides the greatest Part of the Lords and Commons (as Dr. *Wellwood* observes) were but little inclined to a War of Archbishop *Laud's* kindling, most of them being for healing Methods: So that the King being disappointed, dissolved this Parliament with a great deal of Anger and Resentment after they had sat about a Month, which Dr. *Kennet* calls a false and fatal Step; and we find it censured by my Lord * *Clarendon* with a Freedom that would scarce have been born in another.

Parliament
dissolved
in a Month

When a War was determined against the *Scots*, for the Supply of which this Parliament was called, a Vote was passed at the Council-Board

* ' There could not, says he, a greater Damp have seized upon the Spirit of the Nation, than this Dissolution caused; and Men had much of the Misery in View, which shortly after fell out. It could never be hoped that more sober and dispassionate Men would ever meet together in that Place, or fewer who brought ill Purposes with them; nor could any Man imagine what Offence they had given that put the King upon that Resolution.' No Question this made the next Parliament more stiff, and afraid to trust the King when he became more compliant. That which aggravated this Matter, and would be remembered; was, that the Day after the Dissolution of the Parliament, three of the Members were called before the Council for some Speeches in Parliament, and not giving Satisfaction, committed to Prison; and besides, after the King had dissolved the Parliament, he left the Convocation sitting (a Thing without Precedent) who making Canons, grant Subsidies, and frame an Oath (of which before) never to alter the Government of the Church by Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, &c. and *Goodman*, Bishop of *Gloucester* was suspended for refusing the Oath.

Board (as *Laud* owns in his Diary) to assist the King in extraordinary Ways, if the Parliament should prove peevish and refuse: Accordingly they have Recourse to these *extraordinary Ways*, to *Loans*, *Benevolences*, and other Shifts of that Kind: Several Aldermen of the City of *London* were sent for to the Council-Table, to give in the Names of such Citizens as were able to lend the King Money; which some of them, refusing to do, were imprisoned for their Obstinacy, as Sir *Nicholas Raynton*, Alderman *Somes*, Alderman *Geere*, Alderman *Atkins*: However some, through Force, and others out of Affection, so far contributed to the King's Necessities, that he thought himself able to support the War which was now begun.

Money raised without Parliament.

The *Scots* march into *England* with an Army of above Twenty Thousand, (being encouraged thereto by a forged Letter that had the Hands of many of the Nobility of *England* to it, as *Wellwood* tells us.) The King's Forces dispute the Passage of the *Tine* with them at *Newburn*, four Miles off *Newcastle*, but presently retire; and the *Scots* take *Newcastle* and *Durham*, and receive Contributions to the Value of Eight hundred and Fifty Pounds a Day.

In the mean Time the King is at *York*, where, to use the Words of Dr. *Wellwood*, He found 'himself invironed with perplexing Difficulties on all Hands; the Nobility and Gentry 'that attended him, expressed on all Occasions 'their Dislike of the Cause, and the War they 'were engaged in. The *Scots* stood firm to their 'Ground, being flushed with Success; and the 'King was followed from the *South* with Petitions from the City of *London*, from the several 'Counties, and from a considerable Number of 'Lords; desiring him to call a Parliament, as 'the

The great
Council of
Peers at
York.

A new Par-
liament.

‘ the only effectual Means to quiet the Minds
‘ of the People, and compose the present War
‘ without Blood-shed. To extricate himself out
‘ of this Labyrinth, King *Charles* summoned the
‘ great Council of Peers to meet at *York*, to con-
‘ sult what was fit to be done in this Juncture;
‘ who advise him unanimously to enter into a
‘ Treaty with the *Scots* at *Rippon*; and to sum-
‘ mon a Parliament to meet at *Westminster*; with
‘ both which Advices the King complied, and
‘ immediately issued out Writs for a Parliament
‘ to sit down in *November 1640.* and adjourned
‘ the Treaty with the *Scots* to *London.*’ My
Author goes on.

‘ No Age ever produced greater Men than
‘ those that sat in this Parliament; they had
‘ sufficient Abilities to render their King and
‘ their Country happy, if *England* had not
‘ been through the Chain of concurring Acci-
‘ dents ripened for Destruction.’

On *Saturday, November 7th*, a Scene of Grievances, under which the Nation had long groined, was laid open, and all Topicks made use of to paint them out in the liveliest Colours. ‘ Tra-
‘ gical Petitions were preferred, says Dr. *Kennet*,
‘ to the House of Commons in Behalf of the chief
Hist. 17. ‘ Sufferers, *Pryn, Bastwick, Burton, Lilburn,*
‘ *Leighton, &c.* then the particular Grievances
‘ of the several Countries were presented, and
‘ many warm Speeches made upon the general
‘ Grievances of the Nation; the Infringement
‘ of the Privileges of Parliament, of the Liber-
‘ ties of the Subject, Innovations in Religion,
‘ all which were enlarged upon with severe Re-
‘ flections upon Evil-Counsellors.’

Nor

Nor were these the Complaints of a few, or of such as were in the least suspected of Enmity to the Government, either in Church or State. It is undoubtedly true which *Wellwood* observes, ' That they were the great Patriots that concurred at first to make Inquiry into the Grievances of this Reign. Sir *Edward Hide*, afterwards Earl of *Clarendon*, and Lord Chancellor of *England*, the Lord *Digby*, the Lord *Falkland*, the Lord *Capel*, Mr. *Grimstone*, who was chosen Speaker of that House of Commons, that brought in King *Charles II.* and was Master of the Rolls; Mr. *Hollis*, since Lord *Hollis*; all which suffered afterwards on the King's Side; and, in general, those that took the King's Part in the succeeding War, were the Men that appeared with the greatest Zeal for the Redress of Grievances, and made the sharpest Speeches upon those Subjects: The Intentions of these Gentlemen were certainly noble and just, and tended to the equal Advantage of King and People; but the Fate of *England* urged on its own Ruin Step by Step, till an open Rupture between the King and Parliament made the Gap too wide ever to be made up again.'

That which was most offensive to the King, ^{The Fall of} and yet the House was ^{*Strafford*} *immoveably* resolved ^{and *Laud*.} upon, was the impeaching the King's two great Favourites, *Strafford* and *Laud*. The former of ^{*Wellwood* 5.} these, when in the House of Commons, appeared with as much Zeal as any of them against illegal Exactions; as Tonage and Poundage, Ship-Money, &c. but was drawn off by Court-preferments. *Pryn*, it seems, who had lived in a long Friendship with him, told him at parting. He was going to be undone; and added, Remember, though you leave us now, I will never leave you while

while your Head is on your Shoulders; and he made good what he said; for he it was that first accused him of High Treason in the House of Commons, and carried up the Impeachment to the Lords, and was the chief Manager of the Bill of Attainder against him. The Impeachment was in these Terms, 'My Lords, the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, now assembled for the Commons in Parliament, have received Informations of divers traiterous Designs and Practices of a great Peer of this House; and by Virtue of a Command from them, I do here in the Name of the Commons now assembled in Parliament, and in the Name of all the Commons of *England*, accuse *Thomas Earl of Strafford* of High Treason; and they have commanded me further, to desire your Lordships that he may be sequestred from Parliament, and forthwith committed to Prison; and they will in a very few Days resort to your Lordships with the particular Grounds and Reasons of their Accusation.' Upon which the Earl was committed to the Custody of the Gentleman Usher of the Black-Rod.

Soon after the like Charge was drawn up against *Laud*, and both the one and the other were executed. The King endeavours to save *Strafford*, with great Difficulty was prevailed with to sign the Warrant for his Death, though at the same Time, in his Speech to the Parliament in his Behalf, he owned he did not think the Lord *Strafford* fit hereafter to serve him, or the Commonwealth, in any Place of Trust, *not so much as that of a Constable*, and the Lord *Digby* that was against his Sentence, yet declared a great Abhorrence of his Misdemeanours, 'The Name of *Strafford*, says he, is a Name of Hatred in the present Age by his Practices, and fit to be
made

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‘made a Terror to future Ages by his Punishment. I believe him to be the most dangerous Minister, and the most unsupportable to free Subjects that can be characterized, and his Practices as tyrannical as any Subject ever ventured upon.’ And many Particulars, agreeable to this Charge of the Lord *Digby*’s, were objected against him at his Trial, and that both relating to his Behaviour in *Ireland*, and in the *North*; as his oppressing the Subjects, and playing the Tyrant among them; encouraging Papists, and endeavouring to subvert the Government; but that which had the chief Influence on his Condemnation, was his Advice to King *Charles*, sworn against him by Secretary *Vane*, (*viz.*) to bring over an Army from *Ireland* to subdue the Nation, (meaning, as was alleged, *England*.)

The Bishop was not brought to his Trial till some Years after, when he was condemned by an Ordinance of both Houses, and executed, *January 10. 1644*. He had been voted by the House of Commons a Traitor before, and though now the Lords found some Difficulty in admitting the Charge of Treason against him, yet his Conduct had been so very offensive, and he was generally looked upon to have been so active *

an

* The Articles advanced against him were to this Purpose. That he had traiterously endeavoured to subvert the Laws of the Kingdom, and introduce an arbitrary tyrannical Government; to which Purpose had procured and encouraged the Printing of such Books, as defended and pleaded for an *absolute and unlimited Power in the King*. Vol. II. Part II. p. 136, *Rushworth*, That he not only interrupted Justice by Letters, Messages, Threats, &c. but sold it by Colour of his Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction. That he caused Canons to be composed and published, containing many Things contrary to the Statutes of this Realm, and that without Authority; that he traiterously assumed to himself a papal and tyrannical Power, both in Ecclesiastical and Temporal Matters, that he endeavoured to set up Popish Superstition and Idolatry; that he enjoined

an Instrument in all the Mischief that befel the Nation, that the Commons resolve not to spare him: And here I may again observe with Dr. *Wellwood*, that none were more severe upon him than those that afterwards took the King's Part against the Parliament, and had a chief Hand in his Son's Restoration. *Grimstone*, an zealous Royalist, called him, *a Viper near his Majesty's Person to distil Poison into his sacred Ears; the great and common Enemy of all Goodness and good Men.*

This Parliament, having secured themselves from an hasty Dissolution, were resolved to go through stich with their Work, and to have all their Grievances at last effectually redressed; and indeed the King seemed so much softened, and in so good a Humour, that they had a fair Prospect of succeeding: How encouraging his Speech, *January 25th*, 'I will, *says he*, willingly and cheer-
fully

enjoined many popish Ceremonies, without any Warrant from Law; and cruelly persecuted those who opposed the same; that he preferred to his Majesty's Service, and to great Promotions in the Church, such as were popishly affected; and those Chaplains disaffected to the reformed Religion; attempted a Reconciliation of the Church of *England* with *Rome*, and kept secret Intelligence with the Pope, silenced and suspended orthodox Preachers without Cause; caused Discord between the Church of *England* and other reformed Churches; stirred up War between his Majesty's two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*; that he incensed his Majesty against Parliaments, and laboured to subvert their Rights. The Bishop was not like to plead guilty to this Charge; how he defended himself may be seen in the History he left written of his Troubles. When he came to the Scaffold, he behaved himself with great Composure and Presence of Mind, (and it is known, so did the King's Judges;) it does not appear he was then at all haunted with the Ghosts of oppressed Puritans, or disturbed with Images, and Remembrance of Things done in the Star-Chamber and High Commission Court. But, to say nothing of other Matters, it is really wonderful that a Man of his Parts should place such a disproportioned Zeal in childish Fopperies, as to make them the great Care of his Ministry, to slit Noses, cut off Ears, tear Families in Pieces, and set the Frame of Nature on Fire for the Sake of them; but he died, and to his own Master standeth or falleth.

' fully concur with you, for the Reformation of
 ' all Abuses both in Church and Commonwealth,
 ' and consequently that all Courts of Justice might
 ' be reformed according to Law; for my Inten-
 ' tion is to reduce all Things to the best and pu-
 ' rest Times, as they were in the Time of Queen
 ' *Elizabeth*. Moreover, whatsoever Part of my
 ' Revenue shall be found illegal, or heavy to my
 ' Subjects, I shall be willing to lay it down, tru-
 ' sting to their Affections.' He adds, 'if some
 ' of the Bishops have overstretched their Power,
 ' and encroached too much upon the Temporal-
 ' ty, I shall not be unwilling these Things be
 ' redressed, and reformed, as all other Abuses,
 ' according to the Wisdom of former Times :
 ' Nay further, if upon serious Debate you shall
 ' shew me, that Bishops have some temporal
 ' Authority *inconvenient to the State*, and not
 ' so necessary to the Government of the Church,
 ' I shall not be unwilling to *desire* them to lay
 ' it down.' He tells them, he was ready to
 give them Satisfaction, touching frequent Par-
 liaments, which he confesses to be the best Means
 of keeping a good Understanding between him
 and his People; and that he would convince
 them of the Desires he had of giving them Con-
 tent by the Ministers he would have about him.

Nor did he only speak for Pence, but seemed
 willing to pursue it: Hence he begins to shift
 Hands, and employ another Sort of Instruments
 in his Work. Sir *Robert Holbourn* is made At-
 torney-General, and *Oliver St. John* Sollicitor;
 who had both of them distinguished themselves
 in their warm Speeches against Ship-Money,
 when Council for Mr. *Hambden*. He passes ma-
 ny good Acts; as one for a Triennial Parliament,
 another (which it may be was over-doing it)
 that

Vid. Russ- that the Parliament should not be prorogued,
worth Vol. adjourned, nor dissolved without their own Con-
 II. Part II. sent: An Act for the utter abolishing the Star-
 4. 1381. Chamber, and High Commission Courts; an Act

to abolish the Court of the President and Council
 in the *North*: An Act to rescind the Jurisdiction
 of the Court of Seminaries; an Act for declaring
 Ship-Money in all Proceedings therein void;
 an Act for ascertaining the Bounds and Limits of
 the Forests, as they were in the twentieth Year
 of King *James*; an Act to prevent the vexatious
 Proceedings, touching the Order of Knighthood.
 And whereas the Parliament thought it incon-
 venient that the Patents of the Judges should be
durante beneplacito, he grants at their Request,
 that they should hold their Places *quam diu bene*
se gesserint. These were some of the Concessi-
 ons his Majesty made, which could not but
 procure Acknowledgments from the Parliament
 as they did, and were highly satisfactory to ma-
 ny; and yet had not their desired Effect.

The same good Temper, it seems, reached
Scotland also; there having been an Act of Paci-
 fication, for settling the Affairs of the two King-
 doms, (upon which the Armies were ordered
 to be disbanded;) the King takes a Journey thi-
 ther, and, in his Speech to the Parliament, tells
 them the End of his coming was to perfect what
 he had promised, and quiet the Distractions of
 the Kingdom; and this, says he, I mind not
 superficially but fully to perform; for I assure
 you, I can do nothing with more Cheerfulness,

Complete
 History of
 England,
 Vol. III.
 p. 111.

than to give my People a general Satisfaction.
 And Dr. *Kennet* intimates, He did not put them
 off with fair Words; for, says he, whatever Acts
 they were pleased to present to him, concerning
 Church or State, the King confirmed, and then
 gratified the Promoters of them, conferring Ho-
 nours

nours and Offices on his greatest Enemies, in Hopes to reconcile and retain them.

And now, as I apprehend, Things were come to a *perfect Crisis*; Deliverance or Bondage, Prosperity or Ruin seemed to hover over *Britain*, and which should be our Lot, was soon to be determined. This was well enough expressed in Mr. *Rudyard's* Speech in this Parliament. *Rushworth*,
 ' His Majesty, says he, hath clearly and freely P. 2. Vol.
 ' put himself into the Hands of this Parliament; II. p. 1358.
 ' and I presume there is not a Man in the House
 ' but feels himself advanced in this high Trust;
 ' but if he prosper no better in our Hands, than
 ' he hath done in theirs, who have hitherto had
 ' the handling of his Affairs, we shall for ever
 ' make ourselves unworthy of so gracious a
 ' Confidence: I have often thought, and said it
 ' must be some great Extremity that would re-
 ' cover and rectify this State; and when that
 ' Extremity did come, it would be a great Ha-
 ' zard, whether it might prove *Remedy or Ruin*.
 ' We are now, Mr. Speaker, upon the vertical
 ' Point, and therefore it is no Time to palliate;
 ' for this will but foment and hasten our own un-
 ' doing.' But whose Fault it was, that the *Cri-*
sis proved so unhappy, will not be on all Hands
 agreed; such as view Things at a Distance, are
 ready to think the Parliament now let slip their
 Opportunity of settling the Nation, and that
 henceforth part at least of that Guilt, which was
 before imputed to evil Counsellors about the
 King, came over to the other Side.

But the Parliament thought they had sufficient Reason to be jealous of the King: They apprehended what he did was not voluntary, but by Constraint; (and it may be the *Scots Army* in the *North* had some Influence in the Matter) and therefore dare not venture to trust him.

In the mean while, both Sides receive Alarms, and are made to suspect the worst Designs one against another; which Jealousy, no question, was very much promoted by the Intrigues of *Popish Emissaries*, who industriously blew up the Coals, and set themselves to widen the Breach all they could. It unhappily fell out at this Time, whilst the King was in *Scotland*, endeavouring to set Things right there, that the News of the *Irish* Massacre reached the Parliament, in which between two and three hundred Thousand Protestants were murdered in the most inhuman barbarous Manner. The *Rebels* pretended the King's Authority for what they did: To which Purpose they produce a * Commission with the King's Broad Seal to it, and gve out that they were the Queen's Soldiers, and rose to defend the King, and maintain his Prerogative against the Puritan Parliament of *England*. It is certain, they had his Majesty's Broad Seal, how they came by it, is the Question; it is commonly said, that they got it out of *Farnham-Abbey* from an old Writing, and fixed it to the Commission they showed.

It was however Matter of Scandal, that, tho' the Rebellion broke out in *October*, the King did not declare them Rebels till *January* after: And it seems, when he was urged to wash off the foul Stain from himself, as being any Way accessory to so horrid a Fact, and to that Purpose was prevailed with to put forth his Declaration against the Rebels, he commanded that *no more than Forty Copies* should be printed; and

* This Commission is dated from *Edinburgh, October 1. 1641*. Many will think it no other than a Forgery, designed, on Purpose, by the Papists, to make the King odious, and inflame the Difference between him and the Parliament; but the Secret of this, and some other Things of the like Nature, must be left, for ought I know, to the Light of a future Judgment.

and that none should be presently published, but be delayed till his Majesty's Pleasure was further known, though the *Scots* were immediately proclaimed Rebels, and the Proclamation that contained the Charge, flies through both Kingdoms like Lightning.

But that which has since raised a Jealousy in many, and is not easily accounted for, without supposing a Degree of Guilt in the King, that others will not think him capable of, is the Business of the Marquis of *Antrim*, published in Mr. *Baxter's* Life, and the Abridgment, and in other Histories.

' The Marquis, who was a noted Man among the *Irish* Rebels, having had his Estate sequestered, thought fit, upon the Restoration of King *Charles* the Second, to sue for the Restitution of it. The Duke of *Ormond* and the Council judged against him, as one of the Rebels. Whereupon he brought his Cause over to the King, and affirmed, that what he did, was by his Father's Consent and Authority; and the King referred it to some Members of the Privy Council, to examine what he had to shew; upon Examination, they found he had the King's Consent or Letters of Instruction for what he did; hereupon King *Charles* wrote to the Duke of *Ormond* and the Council, to restore his Estate, because it appeared to those appointed to examine it, that what he did, was by his Father's Order or Consent. The Lord *Mazarine* and others not being fully satisfied with this, thought fit so far to prosecute the Matter, as that the Marquis of *Antrim* was forced to produce in the House of Commons, a Letter of King *Charles* the First, by which he gave him Order for taking up Arms; which, being read in the House, produced a general Silence. The whole Account

‘ of it, with a great many surprising Particulars,
 ‘ was published in a Pamphlet, called, *Murder*
 ‘ *will out.*’

This I know has been and will be looked upon by sundry, as a mere Forgery, and the repeating of it Calumny: For my Part, I can justly say, I had rather it was false than true; and should be sorry that the Guilt of so much Cruelty should ever be found lying at the Door of a Protestant Prince.

I shall only further observe here, that this Story is confirmed by others: The Author of a little Piece printed 1692, called *England's Miseries*, set forth in their true Light, says, (p. 170, &c.) that he found it written by his Majesty's Command, signed *Henry Bonnet*, and entered at the Signet Office, *July 13. 1663.* that what the Marquis of *Antrim* did in the *Irish* Rebellion, was by Direction from his Royal Father and Mother: Upon the Marquis's Petition to the King, and the King's referring it to the Consideration of the Privy Council there, it is thus expressed, ‘ Our said Referees, after several Meetings, and Perusal of what hath been
 ‘ offered to them by the Marquis, have reported unto us, that they have seen several Letters, all of them the Hand-writing of Our
 ‘ Royal Father to the said Marquis, and several Instructions concerning his treating, and
 ‘ joining with the *Irish*, in order to the King's Service, by reducing them to their Obedience;
 ‘ and by drawing some Forces from them, for the Service of *Scotland*. That besides, the
 ‘ Letters and Orders under his Majesty's Hand, they have received sufficient Evidence and
 ‘ Testimony, and Directions sent from *Our Royal Father, Our Royal Mother*; by which
 ‘ they are perswaded, that whatever Intelligence,

‘gence, Correspondence or Actings, the said Marquis had with the confederate *Irish* Catholics, *was allowed by the said Letters, Instructions, &c.* that it manifestly appears to them, that the King Our Father was well pleased with what the Marquis did, after he had done it, and approved the same.’

As I do not pretend to know the Author of this Relation, so neither will I vouch for it; if it be true, there is less Reason to question the Commission the Rebels produced under the Broad Seal: However, whether the King abetted this Villany or not, it is certain, the Fact so much raised the Fears of the Nation, and the Dread of the Papists, that it was thought requisite that the Parliament, (the King being absent in *Scotland*) should put the Nation into a Posture of Defence; and it is past Doubt, that this must be reckoned, among the many Things that at that Time fell out strangely, to hasten the Violence that the Nation was threatned with.

When the King was returning from *Scotland*, the Parliament was busy with their Grievances, the Innovations, and Corruptions in Religion, *Irish* Rebellion, &c. and in a little Time drew up the famous *Petition and Remonstrance of the State of the Nation*. This Remonstrance consisted of several Sheets, taking in all the Particulars of Maladministration since his Majesty’s Accession; which they attributed to evil Counsellors, and to a malignant Party; it was presented within eight Days of his Arrival; and would be thought by him, we may be sure, no very hearty *Welcome home*.

Another Thing that hastned the approaching Mischief, was * Intelligence the Parliament had got of some tampering with the Army, in the *North*, in order to employ it against them.

* Things come to Extremities between the King and Parliament.

Some chief Officers 'being examined (as Sir *Baxter's* *Jacob Ashby, O Neal, and Sir Fulk Huns*) *Life, p. 27.* confessed, that some near the King had treated with them, about bringing up the Army; which Examinations were published, and satisfied many that the King did but watch, while he quieted them with Promises, to master them by Force, and use them at his Pleasure.'

This, among other Things, so alarmed the Parliament, that, apprehending themselves not safe, they provided a Guard; which the King, being displeased with, dismissed, and appoints a Guard of the Trained-Bands; but this the Commons thought worse than no Guard at all; as making them look rather like Prisoners than Legislators; and therefore they refused the King's Guards, and procured some of the City Regiments, which nettled the King: And indeed nothing was now done, on either Side, but it provoked the other: One Stop the King took at this Time, that was very unadvised, (as the best of his Friends thought it, and he himself too, when he came more calmly to consider it :) He accuses Five of the leading Members of the Commons of High Treason, viz. *Hollis, Mr. Pynn, Sir Arthur Haslerigg, Mr. Hambden and Mr. Stroud*; and afterwards goes in Person to the House, attended with a select Number, (some say 300) of Gentlemen armed with Swords, Pistols, &c. and setting himself in the Speaker's Chair, calls for the Traitors, and taking Notice the Birds were flown, as he expressed it, required that they should be sent to him: And presently after seizes their Papers, seals up their Closets, and by Proclamation declares them Traitors: It is generally supposed, if the five Members had been in the House, the King would have called in his Guards to apprehend them, which might have

The King
demands
five Mem-
bers.

have begun a War between King and Parliament, or rather a *Duel*, sooner than it brake out; for no question they would have opposed Force to Force.

The Consequence of this Rashness in the King ^{History,} was bad enough. ' Nothing, says Dr. *Kennet*, Vol. III. ' could have been more prejudicial to his Inte-^{p. 113.}rest and Honour, than this imprudent Action; ' which, if it had succeeded, would have served no Purpose, but that of blackning the King, ' for breaking the ordinary Course of Law and ' Justice; and, being disappointed, was the more ' popular Suggestion to Self-defence, and open ' War.' They immediately pass a Vote, that this was a great Breach of Privilege, a great Scandal to the King and his Government, manifestly tending to the Subversion of the Peace; and an Injury and Dishonour to the same Members, there being no legal Charge or Accusation against them; and that there could be no Vindication of their Privileges, unless his Majesty would discover the Names of those that advised him to such illegal Proceedings.

Nor was the Alarm of this confined to the House of Commons; but, extended a great Way further, raised Mobs, with Petitions and Cries for Justice, the Noise of which was so great, even about *Whitehall*, that his Majesty thought fit to withdraw to *Hampton-Court*. One Particular more I cannot but take Notice of here, that was no small Prejudice to the King's Affair: It was hotly reported, as what came from some that fled out of *Ireland*, in the Time of the Massacre there, ' That the *Irish* Rebels should say, It was ' to no Purpose to flee for Safety into *England*; ' for that Kingdom would be as much distressed ' as theirs; that the King intended to forsake his ' Parliament in *England*, and war against it; ' which, when he did, they would come over,

‘ having done their Work in *Ireland*, and help
 ‘ the King against the *English* Parliament :’
 Which suppose it was no more than a Stratagem
 of the Papists, to increase the People’s Jealou-
 sies of the King, might easily enough be believ-
 ed on this Occasion, and help forward the fatal
 Quarrel.

All Confidence was now utterly destroyed
 between King and Parliament; the King in the
 mean while seems to relent, tells the House
 by a Message, he would wave the Proceedings
 against the five Members, and be as careful of
 their Privileges as of his own Life or Crown;
 but they did not see fit to trust him, unless he
 would, for greater Security, trust them with the
 Militia, with the *Tower of London*, and Navy,
 which could not be complied with: The King
 removes from Place to Place; and, after some
 Time spent in Petitions, Remonstrances, Mes-
 sages, Answers and Replies, all to no Purpose,
 he marches towards *Hull*, a Place well stored
 with Ammunition and Arms, having been a
 great Magazine in the War against the *Scots*.
 But the Parliament had got the Start, and had
 sent Sir *John Hotham* to take Possession, and
 be Governor of it in their Name. The King
 comes to the Walls of the Town, and demands
 Entrance, which Sir *John* refused (upon his
 Knees excused himself) being intrusted by the
 Parliament; for which the King proclaimed him
 a Traitor, and now the Word was, *To your Tents*,
O Israel; the King summons the Gentlemen of
Yorkshire to him at *York*, and sets up his Stand-
 and at *Nottingham*, on *Monday, August 22.*
1642. and from henceforth Hostilities and open
 Violence on both Sides.

King’s
 Standard
 set up at
*Notting-
 ham.*

My Lord *Clarendon* takes Notice, that melancholy Men observed ill Presages at this Time, There appearing no Conflux of Men, in Obedience to the King's Proclamation, the trained Bands the Sheriff brought being all the Guard for his Majesty's Person and Standard. The Arms and Ammunition were not yet come from *York*, and a general Sadness covered the whole Town; the Standard was blown down, the same Night it was set up, by a strong and unruly Wind, and could not be fixed in a Day or two, till the Tempest was allayed. This, says he, was the melancholy State of the King's Affairs when his Standard was set up.' And it had been well if Omens (to both Parties) had discouraged their unhappy Enterprize; but this must not be, *it was a Day of Vengeance*, the Sword *must devour and be satiate and made drunk with Blood*, before it should rest and be still, so that it being drawn, and having got Commission, marches thro' the Land, making dreadful Havock every where, Neighbours and even Relations (forgetting the Ties of Nature) tearing one another's Bowels, without relenting.

The Progress and several Steps of this unnatural War, till, thro' the Prevalency of an Arbitrary Faction, it issued in cutting off the King's Head, between six and seven Years after, *viz.* January 30, 1648. I cannot particularly relate, but must in a great Measure pass over, tho' I make a Chasm in the History. I am sensible I have stayed too long upon the Subject, but I thought in such a Miscellany of Things, as I have touched upon, it might not be unacceptable to some to find this included.

The

The first Fight was at *Edge-Hill*, *October 23. 1642.* in which about five Thousand were slain: Both Sides challenged the Victory, but whoever had it, should, methinks, have but a melancholy Triumph, considering it was at the Expence of their Brethren's Blood, and led on further Desolations.

The Year after, the Parliament strengthen themselves, by a Confederacy with the *Scots*; The Assembly at Westminster. in order to which, the *Solemn League and Covenant*, is offered to the Houses of Parliament, and (*October 22.*) taken by them, and the *Assembly of Divines*; upon which, the *Scots* came into *England* with an Army: This plunges the King into new Difficulties, and occasions the calling a Parliament to meet at *Oxford*, which was an Anti-Parliament, to that at *Westminster*, the one voting the other Rebels, and declaring all they did, null and void.

And now the longest Sword must carry it; nothing else I think could well be expected but Conquest, by one Side or the other, and that the Conquerors, would prescribe their own Terms. The *Westminster* Parliament, resolving to reform the Church, and indeed change the Government of it, (a Thing never intended at first) being obliged hereto by their *Solemn League and Covenant*; they call an *Assembly of Divines*, who met at *Westminster*, in King *Henry the VIIth's* Chappel, *July 1. 1643.* The King in the mean Time, is shifting for himself as well as he can, protesting against what the others do; and being miserably worsted in almost every Battle, at last throws himself into the Arms of the *Scots*, who (not daring to break with the *English* Parliament, and make the *English* Army their Enemies) deliver him to the *English*, upon Assurance that he should be in Safety and Honour:

By

By whom he is conducted to *Holmby-House*, in *Northampton-Shire*, attended by several Commissioners from the Parliament. It is observed, that during the King's Confinement at *Holmby*, he would neither hear the Divines preach, that came with the Commissioners (Mr. *Marshal* and Mr. *Carry*) nor suffer them to say Grace, but always said it himself, which was looked upon stiff enough, considering the present Posture of his Affairs.

The King being a Prisoner at *Holmby-House*, and in the Hands of the Parliament, the Army who were now for setting up for themselves, cast an Eye towards him, and design to make him their Prey; accordingly *Joyce* is sent with a Party of Men, who came and demanded the King, and shew so good Authority (*i. e.*) Sword in Hand, that neither his Majesty, nor the Commissioners, durst withstand them. So that the King becomes *Joyce's* Captive. It is supposed this was done, by the Management of *Oliver Cromwel*, tho' he pretended he knew nothing of it. The Army detained the King among them, The King till at last they sent him to *Hampton-Court*, and made Prisoner by the Army. there they lodged him, under the Guard of Colonel *Whalley*, the Army quartering all about him. Mr. *Baxter* says, 'While he was here, Life, p. 60. 'these Hypocrites pretended care of his Honour, 'Liberty, Safety, and Conscience. They blamed 'the Austerity of the Parliament, who had denied him the Attendance of his own Chaplains. 'They blamed the Incivility of the Parliament, 'and Presbyterians, granted Liberty to his 'Friends and Chaplains to visit him: And when 'the Parliament offer the King Propositions of 'Concord, the Army offer him Proposals of their 'own, which the King liked better.

And

And now the Parliament and Army fall together by the Ears. The Parliament attempts to disband the Army, but instead thereof the Parliament is in Danger of being dissolved by them; upon which they (the Parliament) treat with the King, *then in the Isle of Wight*, whether he had fled for Safety; but the Army over-rules that Matter, breaks off the Treaty, and at last seizes the King: And to make way for their own villanous Designs, *they purge the House of Commons*, and violently exclude such Members there, as were most like to withstand them; which done, they show themselves without a Mask, sending this Proposal to the House by *Collonel Axtel*,
 ‘ That they had for a long Time sadly beheld
 ‘ and tasted the miserable Fruits of Counsels,
 ‘ divided by Faction and personal Interest; That
 ‘ all faithful Members must acquit themselves by
 ‘ a Protestation of their not concurring in the late
 ‘ Proceedings, and must then speedily and vigorously proceed to take Order for the Execution of Justice.’

The Rump
 vote a-
 gainst any
 further
 Treaty with
 the King.

On *October 13th*, The Commons (*i. e.*) such as the Army had left, voted they would make no further Addresses or Applications to the King; and soon after draw up an *Ordinance* for attaining *Charles Stuart* of High Treason, which was sent up to the Lords *January 2d*, and being rejected by them, the Commons pass the Ordinance in the Name of the Commons of *England* only, and appoint a Number of Commissioners, which (by a known Figure) is called the *High Court of Justice*, who took upon them to arraign and condemn the King, and *cut off his Head*, (*January 30. 1648.*)

I need not borrow any Thing from the Fund of Oratory and Rhetorick, our Anniversary Sermons on the *30th of January*, supply us with,

to aggravate this Crime, an impartial and naked Representation of it shows *it bad enough*. But I cannot forbear taking Notice, how much some of the fiercer Declaimers on that Day promote the Cause they design to expose (*viz.* that of Disorder and Confusion, and even Rebellion) whilst they defend all the unhappy Measures of that Reign, *and screw up the Prerogative above what the Law will bear*; thereby hanging a Weight upon the Crown which has often made it totter, sometimes overthrown it, and always has that Tendency. Nor is it the least Abuse of this Day, that they accuse the Innocent, and with a Guilt not much inferior to that which made the King a Martyr, as they word it, impute the Fact to a Party that abhor it, and who cannot with any Justice even in their Progenitors be charged with it.

But the Question here will be, at whose Door ^{Who cut} must the Guilt of all this Mischiefe ly; the Guilt ^{off the} of beginning and continuing the War, till it was ^{King's} brought to that tragical Conclusion? Was it not ^{Head.} the Presbyterians that first took up Arms against their Sovereign, and at last cut off his Head?

This being a Subject of great Debate among us, and often either *ignorantly or wilfully* misrepresented, I shall speak directly and distinctly to it, tho' in as few Words as possibly I can.

And if we would trace Things up to their Originals, I need not scruple to say, *the Spring and Rise of all was from the Royal Family*. K. James, as observed before, laid the Foundation in the Popish Match; for the Sake of which he admitted into the Land a Swarm of Locusts, to plot against the Government, and embarrass the Affairs of it: And what Invasions were made upon the fundamental Rights of the Subject, thro' a great

great Part of King Charles's Reign, has been kindred: The King's Will was instead of Law, and the Star-Chamber and High Commission-Court instead of Parliaments: *Laud* and his Adherents had acted a Part so arbitrary and oppressive, that it is no Wonder it drove others to Extremes, and put them upon taking Measures to curb the Power they were † convinced would otherwise crush and ruin them.

† It is so evident as not to admit of Debate with reasonable Men, that King Charles broke in upon the Constitution in sundry Instances, and seemed plainly to aim at arbitrary Power, tho' it is like he might have used it with less Terror to his Subjects, than worse Men would have done: and had he not been withstood herein, it is probable there had been an End of the English Privileges and Government, the Monarchy had been changed into Absolute, our Parliaments laid aside, or rendered as insignificant as in France, and our legal Rights the same as in Sweden, Muscovy, &c. i. e. wholly at the Mercy of the Prince, and dependent on his Pleasure.

Nor is this any Aggravation of Things, but agreeable to the prevailing Sentiments of the Nation, at that Time, even of some of the Loyalists themselves. I had it from good Hands, that two Gentlemen in Derbyshire, Neighbours and Intimates, happening to be on different Sides after the civil War broke out, and being in Company together, they began according to their usual Freedom to discourse about the Grounds each of them went on in what they did. The Gentleman for the royal Side owned, that if they (the Parliament) got the better, *they were free Men*; but says he, should we get the better of you, *We are Slaves and our Posterity for ever*; and he must be strangely partial and prejudiced, that does not see Things were tending apace to this.

Nor can it be denied, the King gave the Parliament too much Cause to suspect him in all his Treaties, and that his Confessions were but extorted from the present Straits he was in: How favourably did Things work towards an Accommodation at the *Uxbridge-Treaty*, and yet all was mutable & frustrated by the King's Mutability: It seems the unsteady King, by Importunity of the Earl of Southampton and others, was brought in to consent to the Main of the Parliament's Propositions, and promised, when these Gentlemen took leave of him

him at Night, to send them away with a Warrant signed the next Morning from *Oxford*, where the King was, to treat with the Commissioners on the other Side at *Uxbridge*; but when they returned to his Majesty in the Morning, they found him quite changed from what he was over Night, and the Hopes of Peace quite dashed, and the King becomes inflexible; the Occasion of which was an Express from *Montrose* in *Scotland*, General against the Rebels there, as they were called; it seems he had succeeded in 2 or 3 Battles, an Account of which he sends to the King in a Letter to *Oxford*, in which he expresses his Concern that his Majesty had consented to enter upon a Treaty with his rebellious Subjects, as being a Thing unworthy of a King; assuring him he was so much Master of *Scotland*, that he doubted not to be able in a few Months to march into *England* with a gallant Army to his Majesty's Assistance; concluding thus vainly, 'When I have conquered from *Dan to Beersheba*, as I doubt not I shall very quickly, I hope I may then have leave to say as *David's* General to his Master, *Come thou, lest this Country be called by my Name.*' This Letter, says *Wellwood*, p. 76. from whom I borrow the Story, writ with such an Air of Assurance, by one that was thought capable of making good his Promises, and the Matter contained in it suiting but too well with the King's Inclinations, was unluckily delivered to the King, but a few Hours before he was to sign the Warrant before-mentioned, and had as ill Effects as the worst of King *Charles's* Enemies could have wished; destroying, in a Moment, all the Impressions his best Friends had been making for a considerable Time towards a full Settlement with his People.

To

To the same Purpose is the Passage mentioned by Mr. *Lock*; he tells us, that Sir *A. Ashley Cowper* (afterwards Lord *Shaftsbury*) proposed to the King at *Oxford* to put an End to the War, if his Majesty would but assist him: He told him, the Gentlemen of Estates, having had two Years Experience of the War, and finding it no nearer an End than it was at first, began to be weary, and would be glad to be at Home again, if they could be assured of a Redress of their Grievances, &c. He further proposed, That his Majesty would empower him to treat with the Parliament-Garrisons, grant them a full and general Pardon, with an Assurance that a general Amnesty should reinstate all Things in the same Posture they were in before the War, and then a free Parliament should do what more remained to be done for the Settlement of the Nations. His Majesty complies, and Sir *Anthony* begins to put his Project in Execution in *Dorsetshire*; he manages a Treaty with *Pool*, *Weymouth*, *Dorchester*, and was so successful in it, that one of them was actually put into his Hands, as the other were to have been some few Days after; but Prince *Maurice* being in those Parts, no sooner heard of the Towns being surrendered, but he marches directly into it, and gives the Plunder of it unto his Soldiers, which Sir *Anthony* beheld with the utmost Displeasure, and it occasioned some hot Words between him and the Prince; but the Violence was committed, and thereupon a very hopeful Design was frustrated. Now, this was often the Manner of the King, which showed him so variable, that it tempted his Enemies to think that he did not act from a Principle in his Overtures of Peace, because he acted so unsteadily, changing as the Posture of his Affairs changed.

And

And what can be said of his † Letter to the *K. Charles* Queen, so perfectly inconsistent with his Pro-^{spoke dif-} fessions and Promises, upon Occasion, to the Par-^{ferent Lan-} liament, some of which fell into their Hands at ^{guage in} his Letters the Battel of *Naseby*. It seems the Queen ap-^{to the} peared very averse to the *Uxbridge-Treaty*, 'Tel-Queen, ling his Majesty, if any Thing severe against ^{from what} he did in ' the Catholicks should be concluded, and yet a ^{Treaties} Peace not be made, the King could not hope with the ' hereafter for any Assistance from the *Catholick* ^{Parliament} *Princes*, or from the *Irish*, who must needs ' think, that after they had done their best, they ' should at last be forsaken; she often entreats ' the King that he would never forsake the Bi- ' shops, the Catholicks, nor those faithful Friends ' of his that had served him in the Wars. The ' King promises her, that he would never for- ' sake his Friends for a Peace, only perswades ' her to hasten as much as she can the *Aids from*

P France ;

† These Letters were publicly read in *London*, before a great Number of Citizens, where many of both Houses of Parliament were present; and Leave was given to as many as pleased, or knew the *King's Hand*, in Order to refute the Calumnies of those that said the Letters were counterfeited, to pursue them all; out of which a select Number were printed by Command of the Parliament.

From the reading of these Letters (adds my Author) many Discourses of the People arose, for there appeared his Transactions with the *Irish* Rebels, and with the Queen for Assistance from *France* and *Lorraine*; many good Men were sorry that the King's Actions agreed no better with his Words; that he openly protested before God with horrid Imprecations, that he endeavoured nothing so much as the Preservation of the Protestant Religion, and rooting out of Popery; and yet in the mean Time he promised to the *Irish* Rebels an Abrogation of the Laws against them, contrary to most express Promises, viz. That he would never abrogate the Laws against the Papists; and though he had declared he abhorred to think of bringing in foreign Soldiers into the Kingdom, yet it now appeared he solicited the *French*, *Lorraine*, the *Danes* and *Irish* for Assistance. Several were moved, to see the King so much ruled by the Will of his Wife, as to do every Thing by her Prescript, that Peace, War, Religion and Parliament should be at her Disposal.

*Breviary of
History of Par-
liament, p. 120.*

Welwood,
p. 78.

‘ *France*; adding, that while *London* is distract-
‘ ed between Presbyterians and Independants,
‘ both may be ruined; and in his Letter to the
‘ Queen upon the News from *Montrose*, of his
‘ Victories in *Scotland*, he tells her, she needs
‘ not fear his trusting the Rebels, either by going
‘ to *London* or disbanding the Army before a
‘ Peace: Adding, I esteem the Interest thou
‘ hast in me at a far dearer Rate, and pretend to
‘ have a little more Wit (at least by the Sympa-
‘ thy that is betwixt us) than to put myself into
‘ the Reverence of perfidious Rebels.’ This and
such like was the Language of his Letters; how
well it agreed with the Language of his Treaties
and Promises to the Parliament was then enough
considered.

K. Charles
enters into
Measures
with the
Irish Re-
bels.

His Confidence in the Papists, and drawing
them into his Assistance against his Protestant
Subjects, must needs give great Umbrage, and
must be reckoned no Question to the King, as Part
of his Measure of Guilt in the horrid Tragedy
acted in the Nation. He solicites the *French*
King (by the Queen), the Duke of *Lorraine*, and
other Catholicks to send over Forces; and which,
to be sure, looked with a worse Face, enters into
Measures with the *Irish Cut-throats*: He first con-
cludes a Cessation of Arms with them, contrary
to an Act of Parliament he himself had signed,
by which it was ordered, ‘ That the War against
‘ those bloody *Irish* Rebels, should proceed till
‘ it was declared by Parliament, that *Ireland* was
‘ fully subdued, and that no Peace or any Cessa-
‘ tion of Arms should be made with them with-
‘ out Consent of both Houses of Parliament.’
Afterwards he commanded *Ormond* to make
Peace with them, and to promise and grant to
them the free Exercise of the Popish Religion,
and to assure them, that if by their Assistance he
could

could but finish his War in *England*, he would abrogate all those Laws that were made against them: And the better to carry his Point with the Catholicks, the King impowers the Earl of *Glamorgan*, a zealous Papist, to treat with them, and to indulge them in whatever he should think needful; the King's Letter to this Purpose I have put in the * Margin.

Several of these trusty Men that had murdered some hundred thousand Protestants a little before, are now not only pardoned by the King, but received into Favour, and are to be made use of against the Protestants in other Parts of his Majesty's Dominions. Accordingly, the Earl of *Antrim* agrees to join *Montrose* in *Scotland*, with ten thousand Men, which he performed in Part. These and such like were the *private* Transactions between the King and those *Irish* Butchers, which presently came to Light, and what the Effects would be it is easy to guess; it would confirm many that they formerly acted by the King's Commission in the Slaughter they made, and that now they were to be employed in the

P 2

like

* *Charles*, by the Grace of God, King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, &c. to Our trusty and well beloved Cousin, *Edward*, Earl of *Glamorgan*, greeting; being confident of your Wisdom and Fidelity, We do by these Letters, as if under our Great Seal, grant unto you full Power and Authority to treat and conclude with the confederate *Roman* Catholicks of *Ireland*, and to indulge to them all those Things which Necessity shall require, and which we cannot so commodiously do by Our Lieutenant, nor Ourself publicly own at present; therefore we command that you do this Business with as much Secresy as can be, whatsoever you shall think fit to be promised in My Name, that do I attest upon the Word of a King, and a Christian, to grant to these confederate Catholicks, who, *by their Assistance, have abundantly shewed their Zeal towards Us and Our Cause*. Given at *Oxford*, under Our Royal Seal, the 12th Day of *March*, and 20th Year of Our Reign.

*Breviary of
History of
Parliament,*
p. 107.

like Work: It is no Wonder if the Parliament under such Apprehensions would not part with the Militia, and that they were for making *sure Terms* with the King, before they trusted him; and that some were for more violent Measures. In the mean Time, who sees not that the King brought a great deal of that Mischief upon himself that befel him?

I do not, by what I have said, pretend to cast all the Blame on one Side; many will be ready to think that when the King made so many healing Concessions to his Parliament, in the Year 1640. a little more Credit was due to him; and if by Compliance with the King they had gained him, it may be they might have taken him out of such Hands as abused him and them, and tempted him so much to forget his Promises.

The last Treaty with the King was at the *Isle of Wight*, and by whose Means, and upon what Views that was frustrated, is no Secret to such as have read the History of these Matters: The King consents to most of the Parliament's Propositions, for rectifying Abuses, both in Church and State, and objected against little more than utter abolishing Episcopacy, and the alienating the Bishops, and the Dean and Chapters Land.

The Dispute between Episcopal and Presbyterian Divines in the *Isle of Wight*.

In order to satisfy his Majesty in the Question concerning Episcopacy, some *Presbyterian Divines* were sent to debate the Matter, with some of the King's Chaplains, as Mr. *Vines*, Mr. *Stephen Murshall*, Dr. *Seamen*, who managed the Controversy with Archbishop *Usher*, Dr. *Hammond*, Dr. *Sheldon*, &c. Each Side thought they had the better, and the Parliament-Divines, says Mr. *Baxter*, came off with great Honour. In the Conclusion, Archbishop *Usher* offered as an Expedient, his *Reduction of Episcopacy* to the Form of Presbytery, which the King accepted:

cepted: The greatest Part of the Parliament were highly pleased with the King's Offers, which Mr. *Prynne* went over in a Speech of sundry Hours long, and shewed the Satisfactoriness of his Majesty's Concessions; and that the House voted them a sufficient Ground of a personal Treaty with him; but when they were for bringing up his Majesty in order to a Treaty, *Cromwell* and his Confidants in the Army interpose: They were afraid Things were tending too fast towards a Coalition, and that their Designs should be spoiled, and therefore sent a Remonstrance to the Army (Nov. 10. 1648.) requiring, ' That ^{The Army} the King be brought to Justice as the principal ^{prevent} Cause of all the Evils of the civil Wars. That ^{the Agree-} a peremptory Day be set for summoning the ^{ment be-} Prince of *Wales* and the Duke of *York*; and if ^{King and} they refuse to come, to declare them incapable ^{Parliament} of Government and Succession, and to stand exiled as Traitors: And if they rendered themselves, yet to be proceeded against for Satisfaction, and the Revenue of the Crown to be sequestred.'

' That publick Justice be done against the Actors in the late Wars.'

' That their Arrears be paid, and request a Period may be put to this Parliament, and new Representatives chosen; and that no King shall be admitted for the Future, but by Election of, and upon Trust for the People, to be limited by the Representatives.

In the mean Time, ' says Mr. *Baxter*, *Cromwell*, &c. sent Collonel *Pride* with a Party of Soldiers to the House, and set a Guard upon the Door; one Part of the House (who were for them) they let in, another Part they dismissed and told them they must not come there, and the third Part they imprisoned, (the soberest

‘and worthiest Members of the House), and all
 ‘to prevent them from being true to their Oaths
 ‘and Covenants, and loyal to their King.’ Mr.
Baxter concludes, ‘To so much Rebellion, Per-
 ‘fidiousness, Perjury and Impudence, can Error,
 ‘Selfishness and Pride of great Successes transport
 ‘Men of the highest Pretences to Religion.’

The Pa-
 pists have a
 chief Hand
 in the
 King's
 Death.

But besides this Faction, that appeared *open-ly*, there was another Party as deeply concerned in the Tragedy as any, from the Beginning to the End of it, I mean the Papists, who stood behind the Curtain, not as mere Spectators, looking on while the Mischief was a doing, but contriving and influencing, and as secret Springs, setting all the Engines at Work, that were employed for the Nation's Destruction. Thus when the Difference between King and Parliament began, they endeavour all they can to inflame, and to encrease their Jealousies one of another, and it is supposed that the most violent Pamphlets that were wrote on either Side, were hammered on their Anvil, or promoted by their Insinuations.

When the Parliament was to sit in *March*, 1626-7, a Society was taken in *Clerkenwell*, most of them *Jesuits*, and the House where they were found was to be a College for that Order: Among their Papers were found, a Copy of a Letter written to their Rector at *Brussels*, upon the Subject of the ensuing Parliament; the Letter is at large in *Rushworth*.

We hope as much (say they) in this Parliament as ever we feared any in Queen Elizabeth's Days. We have planted the sovereign Drug Arminianism, which we hope will purge the Protestants from their Heresy. I cannot chuse but laugh to see how some of our own Coat have accounted themselves: You would

would scarce know them if you saw them, and it is admirable to see how in Speech and Gesture they act the Puritans; I am at this Time transported with Joy, to see how happily all Instruments and Means, as well great as less, co-operate to our Purpose.

Dr. Kennet, mentioning this Letter, says, The Sense of it was only to show, that the Hopes of the Papists was only in the Division of Protestants; I may add, it also shows how diligent and well pleased they were to promote those Divisions.

When the War broke out they dispose themselves, some on one Side, some on the other, a-Vol. III. agreeable to a Maxim of the Jesuits, viz. *To geth^r 51. among both Parties of contending Protestants, on Purpose to serve their own Interests with both*; and we are sufficiently informed that both Richlieu and Mazarine, those famous French Politicians, had their Agents in England and Scotland continually at Work during the civil Wars, as Mr. Pryn relates in his *Rome's Master-Piece*, wherein he shows, how the Jesuits exasperated the King and his Subjects one against another, endeavouring to perswade his Majesty—They were conspiring against his Crown and Government, and to incense them against the King, as aiming at the Subversion of their Laws, Liberties and Religion, that they stirred up the Scots, hindred all Accommodation between them, that there were fifty Jesuits in London, who called themselves, *The Congregation for the propagating the Faith*; the Pope was Head of this College, and Cardinal Barbarino his Substitute and Executor. Cuneus was employed as the *Pope's Legate*, Chaplain and Almoner to Cardinal Richlieu. And the Narrative tells us, he had Familiarity with the King, and set upon the chief Men of the Kingdom,

dom, and left no Means unattempted, by which he might corrupt them all; it further tells us, how instrumental they were to promote Severity against the Puritans, and stir them up to the sharpest Resentment, and by all to kindle the Flame that they kept burning to the last, till we were consumed. All this was discovered by a Papist upon Remorse of Conscience to *Andreas ab Habernsfeld*.

And it seems when they thought Things ripe for it, they consult about taking off the King. Dr. *Du Moulin* says, That the Year (1647.) before the King's Death, there was a Consult in *England* of the whole Faction of Jesuits, about bringing the King to the Block; and that the same Year a select Number of *English* Jesuits, were sent from their whole Party in *England*, first to *Paris*, then to *Rome*, with this Question in Writing; 'That seeing the State of *England* was in a likely Posture to change their Government, whether it was lawful for the Catholics to work that Change, for the advancing and securing the Catholick Cause in *England*, by making away the King, whom there was no Hopes of turning from his Heresy.' * For the Proof of this he challenges the Papists to call him in Question before our Judges. The Determination of this Question at *Rome* was, that it was for the Interest of the Catholick Cause that the King should die, and accordingly their Council of *Jesuits* at *London* voted his Death; and the same *Du Moulin* tells us in another Place, That when the News of that horrible Execution came

* Answer to *Philanax Anglicus*, p. 56. Ed. 1676. See more Testimonies to this Purpose in Dr. *Calamy's* Abridgment of *Baxter's* Life, 2d Ed. Vol. I. p. 58.

came to *Roan*, a Protestant Gentleman of good Credit was present in a great Company of Jesuits ; where, after great Expressions of Joy, the gravest in the Company spoke much after this Sort ; ‘ The King of *England* at this Marriage had promised to re-establish the Catholick Religion : We summoned him from Time to Time ‘ to perform it, and at last came so far as to tell ‘ him, that if he would not do it, we should be ‘ forced to take those Courses that would bring ‘ him to Destruction : We have given him lawful ‘ Warning, and we have kept our Word to him, ‘ since he would not keep his Word to us.’ And it seems they accompanied the King to the Scaffold, and acted a vile Triumph there. Mr. *Spotiswood* says, That riding by accidentally, just as the Head was cut off, he espied the Queen’s Confessor in the Habit of a Trooper, drawing forth his Sword, and flourishing it over his Head in Triumph, and being challenged by *Spotiswood*, he confessed there were Forty or more Priests and Jesuits present on Horse-back besides himself.

Pryn’s necessary Vindication. p. 45.

Since, indeed, they have endeavoured to bring themselves off by denying the Fact, and suppressing the Evidence against them. When *Du Moulin* published his Narrative, 1662. the Jesuits about the Queen-Mother, at *Somerset-House*, desired Justice against him of the King, by the Queen’s Motion; but the Doctor stood to what he had wrote; and offered to prove it; and after frequently challenged them in Print to except against it: And, it seems, when the Fact was universally cried out of, the Pope (to save their Credit) commanded all the Papers about the Question to be burnt: In Obedience to which Order a Gentleman in *Paris*, was demanded a Copy which he had of these Papers; but the Gentleman refused to deliver it; and afterwards

Dr Du
Moulin.

wards showed to a Protestant, and relate the whole Carriage of that Negotiation, with great Abhorrence to the Practice of the Jesuits.

So that it is past all Question, *whoever are guilty or not guilty*, the Papists are not innocent. Sometimes they have avowed the Thing, and boasted of it; and if at any Time they have changed their Note, it is but what they have done in other Cases, when Conveniency and Interest required it.

Presbyterians vindicated from the Charge of taking off the King's Head.

But how came the Presbyterians to be left out here? Were not they the chief Rebels, that at first began the War, and at last imbrued their Hands in Royal Blood? This we know passes for currant Doctrine, on the 30th of *January*; and yet, when it is impartially examined, it will be found a mere Slander. A few Remarks will set this Matter in a true Light;

Church of England Men began the Quarrel.

* Vid. *Wid. W.* *
thers against A-
gate, P. 2.
where it is
proved by
more In-
stances.

And (1.) let me observe, that they were *Church of England Men that began the Quarrel* with the King, and first drew the Sword against him, and not Presbyterians. This is confessed by my * Lord *Clarendon*, whom no Body suspects to be partial towards the Presbyterians: He shows that the Nation, at the Long Parliament, was inclined to the Papists, and *less to the Puritans*; but that there was generally a Submission to the Government; and a singular Reverence to the Liturgy of the Church of *England*; so the leading Men of the House of Commons were stanch Church-Men. The Earl of *Essex* himself, who was the Parliament's General, and whose very Name raised an Army, was Episcopal: Our Historian says of him, that he was rather displeased with the Person of the Archbishop, and some other Bishops (which was the common Cause) than indevoled to the Function, and he was as much devoted as any Man to the Book of

obli
Zec
wit

of Common-Prayer, (observe a Man at the Head of an Army against the King, *devoted to the Common-Prayer!*) And the Admiral that seized upon the King's Ships, and employed them, contrary to his Command, and in the Service of the Parliament, Lord *Clarendon* says of him, he never discovered any Aversion to Episcopacy, but professed the contrary. Sir *John Hotham*, that shut the Gates of *Hull* against the King, and was the first Man proclaimed a Traitor by him, was, says this Historion, very well affected to the Government, both in Church and State; and of *Pym*, who was a Person of the greatest Influence in the House, he says, though he was an Enemy to the *Arminians*, yet he professed to be very entire to the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church, and the same Account is given of the other principal Members of the Parliament; nay, we are told by the same great Author, that all those who were countenanced by the Earl of *Essex*, or in his Confidence, were such as desired no other Alteration in the Church or Government, but only of the Persons who acted in it. And Mr. *Baxter* says, That the great Officers in *Essex's* Army were Conformists, and some of them so zealous for the Liturgy and Diocesans, that they would not hear a Man as a Minister that had not Episcopal Ordination: And it is known, a noted Clergyman of the Church of *England*, Dr. *Williams*, Archbishop of *York*, accepted a Commission from the Parliament, and went into their Army: Nor was he the * only Epi-

* Dr. *Gauden* was so far inclinable to the Parliament's Side, and obliged them to that Degree, by a Sermon preached before them, from *Zech. viii. 19. Love the Truth and Peace*, that the House presented him with a large Silver Tankard, with this Inscription, *Deum Honorarium Populi*

Episcopal Clergymen, that espoused the same Cause: But I need not insist upon Particulars, when, according to the same Historian, whose Authority I here use, there were not above two in the House of Lords, that were for the Dissolution of Episcopacy; and if I remember right, he somewhere says, not above three *
pro-

puli Anglicani in Parlamento congregati Johanni Gauden. &c. Afterwards when he found the Parliament went beyond their first Preten-

* In a Pam- fions, he endeavoured to redeem his Error, says my * Au- phlet called, *A* thor bending to the contrary Extreme: He adds, I am true Account perswaded it was this that put him upon designing and of the Author finishing the *Εἰκὼν βασιλικὴ* (or the Pourtaiture of his of a Book en- Majesty, &c.) for that Dr. Gauden (and not the King) tituled, *Εἰκὼν* wrote that Book (except the 16th and 24th Chap. which βασιλικὴ Print. were composed by Bp. Duppa.) The same Person affirms, ed 1692. from his own Knowledge, the Doctor having acquainted

him with his Design, and shewed him several Chapters while it was a doing; and, it seems, asked him his Opinion about it: He replied, He doubted not it would be for the King's Reputation, but he stuck at the Lawfulness of it. The same Author publishes a *Memorandum* of the Earl of *Anglesey's* (the Original of which he saw in *Millington's* Hand, wrote upon a blank Leaf of the *Εἰκὼν*) as follows.

' *Memorandum.* King *Charles II.* and the Duke of *York* did both, in ' the last Session of Parliament, 1675. (when I shewed them in the Lord's ' House the written Copy of this Book, wherein are some Corrections and ' Alterations, with the late King *Charles I's* own Hand) assure me, that ' this was none of the said King's compiling, but made by Dr. Gauden Bi- ' shop of *Exeter*, which I here insert for the undeceiving others in this ' Point, by attesting so much under my Hand,'

ANGLESEY.

* But if these Men were not Presbyterians, how came they to abolish Episcopacy and the *English* Church-Government, and establish Presbytery? I answer, That *Laud* and his Creatures had made that Sort of Government so distasteful to a considerable Body of the Nation, that I suppose many begun to grow weary of it, though they desired rather to change the Persons, and moderate the Episcopacy than to lay it aside. But afterwards the King's Successes against the Parliament, forced them to call in the Assistance of the *Scots*; who apprehending the best Way to secure their own, was to get the same established throughout the Island, insist, that the *English* join with them in the Solemn League and Covenant, as the Condition of their uniting with them in the War.

Lord *Clarendon*, speaking of this Matter, says, That many of the greatest Men, both in the Parliament and the Army, had no Mind to al-

professed Presbyterians in the House of Commons; so that I think it is past Dispute with reasonable Men, if there was any Fault in opposing the King's Measures, and taking up Arms against him; *it must be imputed to the Church of England*, for they were first and deepest in the Quarrel.

(2.) If the Presbyterians joined with the Parliament, and took Part with them in the same Cause (as it is granted they did) and if they went too far in any Thing; this was but the common Infirmities of the Times. Who will justify all that was said and done, in the Midst of such Confusions; when the whole Nation was in so great a Ferment? Let the innocent Party cast the first Stone: But why should it be improved against the Presbyterians, as if they were *the only Transgressors*. especially when they were not Principals in this Matter, *but Accessories*.

(3.) Suppose the Presbyterians of that Time were as guilty, as some have represented them, (*though very falsely*) with what Justice do they charge it upon their Posterity, or those that succeed them in the same Profession, and under the same Denomination? Have they by any publick Declaration approved what is imputed to their Fathers (*viz. the murdering the King?*)
But

ter the Government of the Church; but the *Scots* Proposals (*viz. the taking the Covenant*) being sent up in the Time of the greatest Consternation, (*viz. when they were afraid of Vid. Withers being conquered by the King's Forces, and made Slaves*) against *Agate*, they complied with them, as the only Terms on which Part II. p. 40. Assistance could be had. So that they were Churchmen that first withstood and drew their Sword against the King, who had no Inclination to change Church-Government, but many Things concurred to the doing it. *Laud* and some others had really made their Government oppressive. The Presbyterians were joined with them, and they were at last forced to take in the *Scots* upon Terms mentioned; and hence Bishops and Liturgy came to be cast out.

But it is pretended they are of the same Principles. I know not but they may in the main, *i. e.* they believe, if any flatter Kings into an Opinion of their own Absoluteness, and draw them to rule arbitrarily, neglected the Laws of the Land, that such are Enemies to the Nation, and ought to be proceeded against accordingly; and that if there be no possible Way of securing their Laws, Liberties and Religion against such as illegally invade them, and would subvert the very Foundations, *it is lawful and a Duty to defend them*: This is the Principle the Church of *England* had at that Time, and exerted at the the happy Revolution, or we had been Bond-Men and Slaves without Remedy: But if they mean by *the same Principles*, the Principles of those that cut off the King's Head, Principles levelled at the Ruin of the King's Person, and the Destruction of the Monarchy; and that are inconsistent therewith; if the Presbyterians then had any such, I dare be bold to say *their Successors renounce them*, as they do the extravagant Principles of those that make no Difference between *Kings* and *Tyrants*; and, by their fulsome Flatteries, preach good Kings into Tyrants, to the Ruin of themselves and their Subjects.

But, (4.) There is no Need to make any Apology for the Presbyterians in this Matter. They did not begin the War, though they joined in it (some of them) as what they thought necessary and unavoidable; nor did they cut off the King's Head, or concur to it; it was done very much by *the Influence of the Papists*, and immediately by a * *Faction in the Army*,

* The Act for keeping the 30th of *January* observes, they did first seduce some Parts of the then Army into a Compliance; did seize upon the King's Person, seized upon the House of Commons, seclude and imprison some,

Army, without Consent of the Lords, and after they had excluded a considerable Number of the Commons: The Presbyterians in the mean Time, with no little Hazard to themselves, *remonstrating against it before it was done, and protesting against it afterwards*; and this being what some do not know, and others *will not*, at least must forget on a certain Day of the Year, or the Jest is spoiled; I shall represent the Matter of Fact as it was.

In *October 1648.* the *General and the Army* ^{Presbyteri-} sent to several of the City-Ministers to meet the ^{ans Protest} Officers of the Army in their Consultations ^{against the} about Matters of Religion; some of them, ^{Death of} as ^{the King.} Mr. *Calamy*, Mr. *Marshall*, Mr. *Asb*, Mr. *Whitaker*, Mr. *Sedgwick*, &c. attended them, and manifested a Dislike of their Actions, and afterwards above Forty of the City-Ministers, sent a Letter to the General, testifying their Concurrence with their Brethren aforesaid, freely declaring against their seizing and imprisoning the Person of the King: And during the King's Trial, the Commissioners of *Scotland* entred their Protestation, how much they did abominate so horrid a Design against the King's Person: And, when it was over, a Proclamation, from the Privy-Council of *Scotland*, declared, That the late King was, *contrary to the Disfent and Protestation of that Kingdom*, removed by a violent Death; and when the Presbyterians about *London* saw what the Army was driving at, they published their great Dislike of the Thing, and in the most solemn Manner, when it might cost them dear. Their Paper was called, *A serious and faithful Representation of the*

Some Members, force out others; and there being left *but a small Remnant* of the whole, did seek to shelter themselves by this weak Pretence, under the Name and Authority of a Parliament.

the Judgment of the Ministers of the Gospel, within the Province of London, in a Letter to the General and Council of War, January 18. 1648. delivered by some of the Subscribers; after a fit Introduction they proceed thus.

‘ To this Vindication we are compelled at
 ‘ this Time, because there were many who very
 ‘ confidently (*yet most unjustly*) charge us to have
 ‘ been formerly instrumental toward the taking
 ‘ away the Life of the King; and because also
 ‘ there are others, who in their scurrilous Pasquils,
 ‘ and Libels (as well as with their virulent Tongues)
 ‘ represent us to the World, as a bloody seditious
 ‘ Sect, and traiterous Obstructors of what all the
 ‘ godly People of the Kingdom do earnestly de-
 ‘ sire for the establishing Religion and Peace, in
 ‘ that *we stick at the Execution of the King,*
 ‘ while yet we are (as they falsely affirm) content
 ‘ to have him convicted and condemned; all
 ‘ which we must and do from our Hearts disdain
 ‘ before the whole World; for when we did
 ‘ first engage with the Parliament, which we
 ‘ did not till called thereunto; we did it with loy-
 ‘ al Hearts and Affections towards the King and
 ‘ his Posterity, not intending the least Hurt to
 ‘ his Person, but to stop his Party from doing
 ‘ further Hurt to the Kingdom; not to bring his
 ‘ Majesty to Justice, as some now speak, but to
 ‘ put him into a better Capacity to do Justice, to
 ‘ remove the Wicked from before him, that his
 ‘ Throne might be established in Righteousness;
 ‘ not to dethrone and destroy him, which we
 ‘ fear is the ready Way to the Destruction of
 ‘ all his Kingdoms. That which put any of us
 ‘ on, at first, to appear for the Parliament, was
 ‘ the Propositions and Orders of the Lords and
 ‘ Commons in Parliament (*June 10. 1642.*) for
 ‘ bring.

' bringing in of Money and Plate, &c. wherein
 ' they assured us, that whatsoever should be
 ' brought in thereupon, should be employed
 ' upon no other Occasion, than to maintain the
 ' Protestant Religion, the King's Authority, and
 ' his Person in his Royal Dignity; the free
 ' Course of Justice, the Laws of the Land, the
 ' Peace of the Kingdom, and the Privileges of
 ' Parliament, against any Force that shall op-
 ' pose them.

' As for the present Actings at *Westminster*,
 ' since the Time that so many of the Members
 ' were by Force seclused, divers imprisoned, and
 ' others thereupon withdrew from the House of
 ' Commons, (and there being not that Conjun-
 ' tion of the two Houses as heretofore) *we are*
 ' *wholly unsatisfied therein*, because we conceive
 ' them to be so far from being warranted by
 ' sufficient Authority, as that in our Apprehen-
 ' sions they tend to an actual Alteration, if not
 ' Subversion of that which the honourable House
 ' of Commons, in their Declaration of *April 17.*
 ' *1646.* have taught us to call the *fundamental*
 ' *Constitution and Government* of this Kingdom;
 ' which they therein assure us (if we understand
 ' them) they would never alter: Yea we hold
 ' ourselves bound in Duty to God, Religion, the
 ' King, Parliament and Kingdom, to profess be-
 ' fore God, Angels and Men, *That we verily be-*
 ' *lieve that which is so much feared to be now in*
 ' *Agitation, the taking away the Life of the King*
 ' *in the present Way of Trial, is contrary to the*
 ' *Word of God, the Principles of the Protestant*
 ' *Religion (never yet stained with the least Drop*
 ' *of the Blood of a King) the fundamental Consti-*
 ' *tution and Government of this Kingdom; as al-*
 ' *so the Oath of Allegiance, the Protestation of*
 ' *May*

' May 5. 1643. *and the Solemn League and Cove-*
 ' *nant*, from all, or any of which Engagements,
 ' we know not any Power on Earth able to ab-
 ' solve us or others; therefore, according to our
 ' Covenant, we do, in the Name of the Great
 ' GOD, to whom all must give a strict Account,
 ' warn and exhort all who either more immedi-
 ' ately belong to our respective Charges, or any
 ' way depend on our Ministry, or to whom we
 ' have administred the same Covenant, (that
 ' we may not by our Silence suffer them to run
 ' into that provoked Sin of Perjury) to keep
 ' close to the Ways of God, and the Rules of
 ' Religion, the Laws, and their Vows, in their
 ' constant maintaining the true reformed Religi-
 ' on, the fundamental Constitution and Govern-
 ' ment of this Kingdom; as also in preserving
 ' the Privileges of both Houses of Parliament,
 ' and the Union between the two Nations of
 ' *England and Scotland*, to mourn bitterly for
 ' their own Sins, the Sins of the City, Army,
 ' People and Kingdom, and the Miscarriages of
 ' the King himself (which we cannot but ac-
 ' knowledge to be many and great) in his Go-
 ' vernment that have cost the Kingdoms so dear,
 ' and cast him down from his Excellency into
 ' a horrid Pit of Misery, almost beyond Exam-
 ' ple; and to pray that God would give him
 ' effectual Repentance, and sanctify that bitter
 ' Cup of Divine Displeasure, that Divine Pro-
 ' vidence hath put into his Hand, and also that
 ' God would restrain the Violence of Men, that
 ' they may not dare to draw upon themselves
 ' and the Kingdom the Blood of their Sovereign,
 ' &c.

This was subscribed by about * Sixty Ministers, and delivered as aforesaid.

* *Corn. Burges*, D. D. *John Fuller*.
William Gouge, D. D. *William Taylor*.
Edward Stanton, D. D. *Peter Witham*.
Thomas Temple, D. D. *Francis Peck*.
George Walker. *Christopher Love*.
Edmond Calamy. *John Wallis*, D. D.
Fer. Whitaker. *Tho. Manton*, D. D.
Dan. Cawdrey. *Tho. Gouge*.
William Spurlow, D. D. *William Blackmore*.
Laz. Seaman, D. D. *Robert Mercer*.
Simon Ashe. *Ra. Robinson*
Tho. Case. *John Glascock*.
Nic. Profit. *Tho. Whately*.
Tho. Thorowgood. *Jonath. Loyd*.
Edw. Corbet. *Jon. Wells*.
Hen. Rowborough. *Ben. Needler*.
John Downham. *Nath. Stainforth*.
Arth. Jackson. *Steph. Watkins*.
Charles Offspring. *Jac. Tice*.
Sam. Clark. *Jon. Stileman*.
John Wall. *Josias Bull*.
Fran. Roberts. *John Devereux*.
Sam. Bolton. *Paul Russel*.
Mat. Haviland. *Jam. Nalton*.
John Sheffield. *Tho. Cawton*.
William Harrison. *Tho. Watson*.
William Jenkin. *William Wickins*.
John Viner. *Josh. Kirby*.
Elidad Blackwell. *Arth. Barham*.
John Cross. Q 2

Mr. Baxter's Life,
p. 63.

Nor did these Murderers of the King only protest against his Death, *but moved for delivering him by Force* out of his Enemies Hands; as Mr. *Baxter* tells us, whose Words are, 'The Lord General *Fairfax* stood by all this while, 'and with great Resentment saw his Lieutenant 'do all this by tumultuous Soldiers, tricked and 'overpowered by him. At the King's Death, 'he (*Fairfax*) was in wonderful Perplexities, 'and when Mr. *Calamy*, and some other Ministers were sent to him, and would have persuaded him *to rescue the King*, his Troubles 'so confounded him, that they durst let no Man 'speak to him, and *Cromwell* kept him, (as it 'was said) in praying and consulting till the 'Stroke was given, and then it was too late to 'make Resistance.'

Presbyterians forward to restore King Charles.

I might further add, that these very Men (so freely charged with King-killing) were *as zealous and active as any in the Restoration of King Charles II.* as has been owned on all Hands, and cannot with any Modesty be denied; nay, several of them suffered for adhering to his Cause during the Usurpation, eight of them (Mr. *Arthur Jackson*, Dr. *Drake*, Mr. *Watson*, &c.) were committed to the *Tower*, and Mr. *Love* and Mr. *Gibbons* were beheaded for corresponding with his Friends in *Scotland*, and sending Money for his Service: Mr. *Love* had been an Offender before, having wrote against the Designs of the prevailing Faction; and exclaimed against the Sectaries for talking of the Necessity of taking off the King; and against the Army for entertaining Principles directly against Monarchy, which, it is like, was now remembered against him, as an Aggravation of his Crime; and he went to his Death with the same Principle, declaring that he judged a mixt Monarchy, such as ours was, to be

be the best Government in the World; and that he never was for putting the King to Death, though he opposed his Forces. He added, that he died with his Judgment, not satisfied to take the Engagement, and that he would not be looked upon as owning the present Government; and tho' all did not go as far as Mr. *Love* in opposing the Government that then was, yet several of the Ministers disliked it, and refused the Engagement; (by which they were to promise to be true and faithful to the Commonwealth of *England*, as it was established, without a King and House of Lords) and were turned out of their Places on that Account.

And now I may appeal to all the Impartial among Mankind, *whether the Presbyterians murdered the King*, and whether there be any Justice or Modesty in the 30th of *January* Harangues, which so freely charge them with it, and that with all the Circumstances of Reproach imaginable; hereby prostrating the Pulpit, and poisoning the Auditory.

I know it is in vain to expostulate with peevish and unreasonable Men; but they would do well to consider, whether they do not, by the Liberty they take on these Occasions, really pervert the Design of this Anniversary, (for no Body can think it was appointed for Strife and Debate) and whether they do not instead of atoning for the Guilt of the Nation, as they sometimes speak, greatly add to it, and by their misrepresenting the *English* Government, the Measures of Obedience due to the Sovereign, and slander- ing their Neighbours with what they abhor and are perfectly innocent of, sow Discord amongst Brethren, keep up our fatal Animosities, and cherish those Sparks that formerly broke out into a terrible Flame: This, I say, they should calmly consider, for whatever they design by
their

their warm Declamations, they can have no other Tendency, than to inflame and turn Men into Wolves and Tygers one towards another, and send home the Auditory disposed to devour those whom they have seen at Church painted in the worst Colours, and marked for Destruction.

But the Presbyterians fought against the King, destroyed the Monarchy, and set up a Commonwealth, and are by Principle Enemies to Kings and kingly Government, and only want the Opportunity to act over the same Tragedy.

Upon what Principles the Presbyterians submitted to Oliver.

To call this Calumny, I grant, is no Answer; but I would put these Gentlemen in mind, that when the Church of *England* drew the Sword against King *Charles I.* and the Presbyterians joined with them, it was to preserve the legal Monarchy, against such as were for subverting it; and though it is true they submitted to *Oliver*, it was *only as to a Conqueror*; not approving his Government. They still preserve the ancient legal Constitution, and contributed all they could to the Restoration of it; and it is well known, before *Cromwell* had usurped the Throne, the *Scots* Presbyterians invited King *Charles* among them, and had their Bones broken at *Dunbar* for espousing his Cause; and tho' they refused not to live and breathe under *Oliver's* Government, and to enjoy his Protection in the Service of God, which was denied them under *Laud* and his Faction, yet they never owned his Title, nor took the Engagement; I mean, many of them did not, and if some others did, several of the * Episcopal Party did the same, and it is like

* As Bishop *Sanderfon* and other leading Men of that Perswasion; the Bishop not only took the Engagement, but wrote for it, *Nine Cases*, having prepared it for their Digestion, by a very favourable, though forced Construction; as by *established* they only meant *de facto*, and not *de jure*; and by, *without the King* and

like upon the same Principles; and for the Tragedy of the King's Death that they are accused of, they are either innocent of that, or it is *impossible for any to be innocent* whom their Enemies have a Mind to make guilty; they utterly disowned it, as has been said, and protested against it in the most solemn Manner; so that still to continue the Charge against them, with all the Clamour and Noise that is usual, must argue either gross Ignorance or Malice, or both; for which, no question, an Account must be given.

I need be at no Pains to apply all this to my present Purpose; and show there was at that Time a great *deal of Plotting* carried on against the reformed Religion and civil Liberties of the Land: It is manifest the Nation, for above twenty Years, was continually struggling against Popery and arbitrary Power. Protestants were so artfully played one against another, that they were almost consumed one of another: And, in short, such were the Convulsions the Kingdom suffered, and the Confusions it was thrown into, that it seemed a mighty Hazard into what Hands the Government should fall; and whether the Protestant Faith and Worship, or Popish Superstition and Idolatry, should henceforth obtain; but Providence did not give us up: *Hitherto the Lord helped us.*

Q 4

As

and House of Lords, they meant, although there were for a Time no King and House of Lords, so that their Sense seemed to be this; I will be true to the Government of *England*, though at the present the King and House of Lords are put out of the Exercise of their Power: Mr. *Baxter*, in the mean Time, not only avoided the Covenant, and kept his People at *Kedermister* from taking it, and the Ministers of the Country generally from offering it to their People, but when the Engagement came out, he both spoke and wrote against it, and against that mollifying Sense that some put on it, which he thought mere juggling and jesting

Some Remarks on Oliver's Government.

As to what succeeded, I am willing the Reader should call it *Anarchy, Confusion, Usurpation, Tyranny, or what he pleases*: It is known the Government being thrown off its Hinges, was perpetually wavering, and never continued in the same State; but being modelled and supported by pure Violence, and the Power of the Sword, it varied and changed, just as Success followed the one Side or the other of the contending Usurpers.

It was by a strange Mixture of Fraud and Force, that *Oliver* got himself possessed of the Sovereignty, under the Title of *Lord Protector* of the Commonwealth of *England*; having signed an Instrument as the Plan of his Government, consisting of twenty four Heads, which he swore

to

ing with Matters too great to be jested with, the obvious Sense of the Words as well as Meaning of the Imposers being very different.

When *Oliver* had actually got Possession, the Ministers were in great Straits how to carry it towards him, some declaring they would rather perish than submit to such deceitful Usurpations. Others thought they must comply with the present Necessity, and the Generality of them came to this Resolution, 'That tho' it was unlawful for them to consent to any other Governor than the King, or to take an Engagement, or Oath of Allegiance to another; nor must they either do or approve Evil for a good End, nor forbear in their Places seasonably to reprehend it; yet it was not unlawful for them to submit to Usurpers by living quietly, and to make use of the Courts of Justice established by Law, yea, and to demand Protection from them; for an Usurper's stepping into the Ruler's Place, obliges him to do all the Parts of a Governor's Office, and warranted those that are under him to demand it, and accept it from him; but it does not oblige them to obey or consent to his Usurpation, even as we demand Justice of a General of Rebels, or a Captain of Thieves.' So that they agreed in this as *Vide Baxter's Life* their Duty, to keep the State of Things as entire as they could, till God was pleased to restore the King, that he might find it a whole and not a ruined irreparable State. Vol. I. p. 109. Edit. 2d. Mr. *Baxter* practised according her to (as did others) seasonably condemning the Usurpation, both by preaching and printing, and once took Occasion in open Conference, to declare *Cromwell* and his Adherents guilty of Treason and Rebellion aggravated with Perfidiousness and Hypocrisy.

to in the following Terms; ' I promise in the
 ' Presence of God, not to violate or infringe
 ' the Matter contained in the Instrument, but
 ' to observe and cause the same to be observed;
 ' and in all Things to the best of my Understand-
 ' ing, govern the Nation *according to the Laws,*
 ' *Statutes, and Customs thereof,* and to seek their
 ' Peace, and cause Justice and Law to be equally
 ' administred.' But this, says *Coke*, tho' of his
 own making, *Oliver* regarded no more than he
 did *Magna Charta*, which he called *Magna Far-*
ta: He had indeed by this Contrivance provi-
 ded sufficiently for his own Power, obliging the
 Nation to maintain him an Army of 20000 Foot,
 and 10000 Horse, and yet when he saw Occasi-
 on, he could vary from it at Pleasure, and tram-
 ple upon it, as he did upon all the Laws of the
 Land, when they stood in his Way; tho' before
 he took up Arms, as his Pretence was, *on Pur-*
pose to defend them.

It must be acknowledged that he supported
 his Character, both at Home and Abroad, in a
 Manner that was really extraordinary; made
 himself at least feared where he was not loved;
 and in many Instances acted very much to the
 Reputation and Honour of the Kingdom. *West-*
minster-Hall, says *Coke*, (a Man not at all preju-
 diced in his Favour) was never replenished with
 more learned and upright Judges than by him;
 nor was Justice either in Law or Equity, in civil
 Cases more equally distributed, where he was not
 a Party: He humbled the *Algerine, Tripoli, and*
Tunis, Pirates by *Blake*, more than ever any be-
 fore or since did. In short his Name was terri-
 ble through *Europe*. ' It was hard to discover,
 ' says my Lord *Clarendon*, which feared him
 ' most, *France, Spain, or the Low Countries*, where
 ' his Friendship was current at the Value he put
 upon

‘ upon it, as they did all sacrifice their Honour
 ‘ and their Interest to his Pleasure, so there is
 ‘ nothing he could have demanded that either of
 ‘ them would have denied him.’ Nay, so awful
 a Creature was this *Oliver*, that it is said *Cardinal*
Mazarine would change Countenance whenever
 he heard him mentioned; and it is passed into a
 Proverb in *France*, that *he was not so much afraid*
of the Devil as of Oliver Cromwell: He would not
 allow in his League with *France* against *Spain*,
 the *French* King to call himself King of *France*,
 but of *the French*; whereas his *Highness* took to
 himself, not only the Title of Protector of *Eng-*
land, but likewise of *France*; and in the Instru-
 ment of the Treaty, the *Protector’s* Name was
 put before the *French* Kings.

One Instance we have of his Greatness, that is
Wide Well very remarkable; there was an Article in the
wood’s Me- Treaty between *France* and the *Protector*, that if
moirs. *Dunkirk* came to be taken, it should immediately

be delivered up to the *English*, and his Ambassa-
 dor *Lockart* had Orders to take Possession of it
 accordingly; but it seems Orders had been given
 to the *French* General contrary to this Agreement,
 which *Cromwell* upraided the Ambassador with
 at *Whitehall*; the Ambassador protested he knew
 nothing of the Matter, as indeed he did not;
 upon which *Cromwell* pulling a Paper out of his
 Pocket, says, Here is a Copy of the Cardinal’s
 Order, and I desire you to dispatch immediate-
 ly an Express to let him know I am not to be im-
 posed upon; and that, if he deliver not up the
 Keys of the Town of *Dunkirk* to *Lockart*, *with-*
in an Hour after it shall be taken, tell him *I will*
come in Person and demand them at the Gates of
Paris; which so affrighted the *French* Court,
 that the *Duke and Mareschal of Crequy*, was dis-
 patched into *England*, Ambassador Extraordinary

to compliment *Cromwell*, attended by a numerous Train of Persons of Quality, among whom was a Prince of the Blood, and a Nephew of *Mazarine*, who brought a Letter from his Uncle to the Protector, full of Expressions of Respect, assuring his Highness that nothing but the King's Indisposition could have hindred him to have come over to *England*, that he might enjoy the Honour of waiting upon one of the greatest Men that ever was, and whom next to his Master, his greatest Ambition was to serve.

Two Things notably served his Designs, the Secrecy of his Counsels, and the Diligence of his Spies Abroad. It is said, he seldom trusted any Body in Matters of Importance, but his Secretary *Thurlo*, and not always him: Once coming into the Secretary's Office, and entring upon Business of great Consequence, he took notice that one of the Clerks, *Mr. Moreland*, afterwards *Sir Samuel Moreland*, was in the Room, seeming to be asleep on a Desk, but fearing he might hear their Discourse, drew a Ponyard, which he always carried under his Coat, and was going to dispatch *Moreland* upon the Spot, if *Thurlo* had not with great Intreaties prevailed with him to desist, assuring him that *Moreland* had set up two Nights together, and was now certainly asleep.

And for his Intelligence, no Expence was spared to procure it; particularly he knew the Affairs of *King Charles II. in his Exile*, so perfectly well, that nothing escaped him; of which we have an Instance in an *English Nobleman*, that he had given leave to travel, on Condition he should not see *Charles Stuart*; upon his Return he asked him, if he had punctually obeyed his Command, to which the other answered he had: *Cromwell* replied, It is true you did not see him,

him, for to keep your Word with me, you agreed to *meet him in the Dark*, the Candles being put out for that End; and withal told him the Particulars that past in Conversation between the King and him at their Meeting: Nay it seems his Intelligence reached to the most secret Transactions of most other Princes, with whom he had any Concern, whilst in the mean Time his own Counsels were locked up in his own Breast.

He showed a more than ordinary Zeal in the Matters of Religion; he had a glorious Form of it himself, and could talk like a Saint of the first Magnitude. Mr. *Baxter* says of him, 'That he appeared to have a Design of doing good in the Main, and promoting the Gospel more than any had done before him, *except in those Particulars which his own Interest was against*. He adds, it was the principal Means that he trusted to, after he was got into the Saddle for his Establishment, &c. his doing good, that the People might love him, or at least be easy under his Government for the Sake of the Good he did, who were against it, as it was an Usurpation.

One of the most popular Things he did, was the reforming the Ministry; to which Purpose, he chose a Society, consisting of Ministers and others, who under the Name of *Triers*, examined all that came for Institution or Induction; and without their Approbation none were admitted; Such as could, came up to *London* to be examined, others were referred to Ministers in the County where they lived, and with all their Faults, says my Author. It must be said of these *Triers*, that they did a great deal of Good to the Church; they saved many a Congregation from

from ignorant, ungodly, drunken Teachers. That Sort of Ministers that either preached against an holy Life, or preached as Men that never were acquainted with it, all those that used the Ministry, *but as a common Trade to live by*, and were never like to convert a Soul, all these they usually rejected, and in their Stead admitted any that were *serious, able, Preachers*, and lived a godly Life, of what Opinion soever they were that was tolerable: And I presume, I may say, that the main Body of the Parish Ministers at that Time, were such as the Nation has not enjoyed since, (I mean for a serious Sense of Religion, and a hearty Regard for the Interest of Souls, in the Discharge of their Office), tho' it is granted the Generallity of them made no great Improvements in Learning; many of their Writings were heavy, and some downright Enthusiastick, but few set themselves to cultivate the more recondite and secret Parts of Learning, which has since been done with much Success, and to their great Honour, by many great Men of the Church of *England*. But I doubt not, even in this Particular, their Case will admit of Apology. I doubt not, but I may say, that some of their Writings, both upon learned and more practical Subjects, were as valuable as the World has yet seen, and, that they were not more generally so, may be accounted for. They were kept busy in dressing the Vineyard that Sluggards had suffered to be all grown over with Thorns, and in repairing the Desolations that the High Commission-Court, the Book of Sports, and playing at Foot-Ball on Sundays, instead of the unlawful Exercises of Afternoon-Sermons, &c. had made; a great deal of their Time was necessarily taken up in combatting those strange Monsters of Doctrine, raised up by wild Sectaries and

En-

Enthusiasticks; hence some Men that discovered no mean Genius, were unhappily diverted in their Studies and Writings; and yet what they did might be necessary at that Time, as an Antidote against present Evils, and be found more to account at last, than *translating and writing Notes on Horace*, or putting a new Coat on a ragged Father, &c. and besides it should be considered, that every Age has its *peculiar* Opinions, Notions and Studies, to which Men of Learning and Capacity are drawn to attend, tho' with less Improvement to themselves, and Advantage to the Church. I doubt not but there are several Questions discusst in this Age, as particularly about the *Validity of Baptism, Sacerdotal Powers*, &c. which will afterwards appear as contemptible, as what was wrote heretofore about *Fides quæ* and *Fides quâ in Justification*, &c. So that upon the whole, I shall stand to it, that the Parish-Clergy of that Time, were such generally, as would have been an Ornament and Blessing to any Church in the World; and, if I might say it without Offence, I am sure I say it with a due Deference to the Learning and Piety of some of the Clergy of the Church of *England*, (whom I look upon to be as valuable Men as any Part of the Christian Church can show) should the present State of the Parishes of *England* in most Places, be compared with what it was then, they would be found to differ as much (*absit Invidia*) as *Kedar from Jerusalem*. Notwithstanding little Honour or Thanks belongs to *Cromwell*, who did too manifestly make Religion subservient to his own Ambition, and espouse the Interest of it only so far as it might promote his own Interest.

As for his Government it was usurped, and he might be called doubly a Tyrant, according to that

that Distinction of the civil Law, *Tyrannus Titulo, & Tyrannus Exercito*; he had neither Title to Government, nor did he govern by Law: As he had a main Hand in taking off the King, he lays by the House of Lords, new-models that of the Commons, and in Effect always chose his own Parliaments, and then uses them as he pleases. He was in short *absolute*, nor would he suffer any Contradiction of his Power and Authority when he had a Mind to exert it: My Lord *Clarendon* gives a lively Instance of this, having laid an extraordinary Tax upon the City, one *Cony*, tho' a former Confident of *Oliver's*, refused to pay his Part, and dissuaded others from paying, as being against the Law and the Property of the Subject: *Cromwell* sent for him, put him in Mind of old Kindnesses. The Man however is resolute, and presumes to remember his *Highness*, how great an Enemy he had expressed himself formerly to be to such Grievances; having declared that all those who submitted to them, and paid illegal Taxes, *were more to blame*, and greater Enemies to their Country, than those who had imposed them; and that the Tyranny of Princes, could never be grievous, but by the Tameness and Stupidity of the People: Upon which *Oliver* commits the saucy Man to Prison, sends *Mainard* to the Tower for pleading as Council in Behalf of the Prisoner, severely reprimanded the Judges, and when they mentioned the Law and *Magna Charta*, told them with Terms of Contempt and Derision, their *Magna farta should not controul his Actions*, which he knew were for the Safety of the Commonwealth.

But I will not tire the Reader with more Particulars of this Government, which I designed to have passed over in a few Words; shall only ob-

observe, that tho' the *Protector* had rendered himself *awful*, yet he had the Love of very few of his People, which he was sensible of, and therefore, it is said, always wore a Coat of Mail under his Clothes, and a private Dagger. Most looked upon him no other than a *successful Tyrant*, and hated him accordingly. *Coke* says, He was hated of all *Factions*, as much as of the Royalists, and that he had nothing to trust to, but a mercenary Army, and above Half of these would have been content to have his Throat cut. One bold Man *William Allen*, writes a Pamphlet which he called, *Killing no Murder*, and not only sets his Name to it, but addresses it to *Oliver* himself; the Design of which as he † professes, was to perswade some body to kill him, for the Good of the Common-wealth, and to prove that it would be no Sin to do it.

But notwithstanding this, and all the Attempts against his Life, he died in his Bed, *September 3. 1658.* The Lord *Clarendon* gives this Character of him, ' That he was one of those Men, ' whom his very Enemies could not condemn ' without commending him at the same Time; ' for he could never have done half that Mis- ' chief without great Parts, Courage, Industry ' and Judgment; that he attempted those Things ' which no good Man durst have ventured on, and

† He tells his *Highness*, how he will interpret his Paper he knows not, but adds, I can, with Confidence, say, my Intention is to procure your Highness, that Justice which yet no Body does you: To your Highness belongs the Honour of dying for the People, and it cannot chuse but be of unspeakable Consolation to you, in the last Moments of your Life, to consider with how much Benefit to the World you are like to leave it. It is then only, My Lord, the Titles you now usurp will be truly ours; you will then be indeed the Deliverer of your Country, we shall then have Hope, that other Laws shall take Place, besides those of the Sword, and that Justice shall otherwise be defined, than the Will and Pleasure of the Strongest. It is by your Death that we hope for our Inheritances, and to hasten this great Good, is the chief End of my writing this Paper, &c.

and atchieved those, in which none but a valiant and great Man could have succeeded. He concludes, that he had some great Qualities, which have caused the Memory of some Men, in all Ages to be celebrated, and he will be looked upon by Posterity, as a *brave wicked Man.*

Richard Cromwell his Son succeeded as *Protector*, but finding the People discontented, and the Government troublesome, willingly resigned it: And now every one that can, is for being uppermost; the unhappy People are tossed about strangely, and the Government passes thro' the Hands of a *Council of State, Committee of Safety, &c.* and appears in such odd Shapes, that the Nation being heartily weary of their Confusions, resolve, as one Man, to bring back the King, in which the Presbyterians concurred with a forward Zeal, looking upon his Restoration a national Mercy: But, alas! they soon found what one of the *Scots* Ministers (sent to attend him in *Holland*, Mr. *Livingstone*) is reported to have said, when they forced him on Board with his Majesty, *that they were bringing God's heavy Wrath to Britain.*

King *Charles* the Second, begins his Government with many fair Promises, as if he was resolved to make all his Subjects easy and happy; accordingly every Party had their Eyes directed to him with no little Expectation: The Presbyterians sent over several of their Number to wait upon him in *Holland*, Dr. *Reynolds*, Dr. *K. Charles Manton*, Mr. *Calamy*, Mr. *Cafe*, &c. The King receives them with great Marks of Favour and Respect, and it seems took care so notably to act the Part of his Grand-father, that some of the Ministers thought they had got a Saint to be their King: He knew how to bewail the Sins of his Father's House, and could talk of the

Power of Godliness as fluently as if he had been Pupil all his Days to a *Puritan*; and, to carry the Jest a little further, when settled upon the Throne, several of the Presbyterians were taken into the Number of his Chaplains, as Dr. *Reinolds*, Dr. *Manton*, Dr. *Bates*, Dr. *Spurstow*, Mr. *Calamy*, Mr. *Ash*, Dr. *Wallis*, Mr. *Cafe*, Mr. *Baxter*, &c. Some of them have the Honour to preach before his Majesty, Mr. *Baxter* particularly, who, from *Heb. xi. 1.* made a very solemn Discourse about the Life of Faith; and, printing the Sermon, stiled himself, *Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majesty*, desiring, I suppose, to teach King *Charles* to live by Faith.

These Gentlemen had for a Time free Access to the King, and took all Opportunities to propose a Union, and to confirm his Majesty in the good Resolutions he had signified in his Declaration *April 14. 1660. from Breda.* The King receives the Motion with great Approbation, and tells them, ' If an Agreement was not effected between the two Parties, it should be long of themselves, and not of him; nay, that he was resolved to compass Union, and that he would draw the contending Parties together, and therefore desired them to offer such Proposals as they thought necessary, in order to an Accommodation.' The Ministers, after some Consultation among themselves, bring in their Proposals to his Majesty, with their humble Address, by way of Preliminary, they desired these four Things. ' That serious Godliness might be countenanced; A learned and pious Minister in each Parish encouraged; That a Personal publick owning the Baptismal Covenant might precede an Admission to the Lord's Table; And that the Lord's Day be strictly sanctified: And thereupon they offered to allow

' allow of the *true, ancient, primitive Presiden-* Proposals
 ' *cy* in the Church, with a due Mixture of Pres- for an Ac-
 ' byters, in order to the avoiding the Corruption, commodat-
 ' Partiality, Tyranny, and other Evils, which tion be-
 ' are incident to the Administration of a *single* Presbyt. tween
 ' *Person*: The Things which they principally and Epif.
 ' blamed in the *English* Frame, were the great offered by
 ' Extent of the Bishops, Diocesses; their deput- the Pres-
 ' ing Commissaries, Chancellors and Officials to byterians.
 ' act in their Stead; their assuming the whole
 ' Power of Ordination and Jurisdiction, and act-
 ' ing so arbitrarily in Visitation-Articles; bring-
 ' ing in new Ceremonies, and suspending Mini-
 ' sters at their Pleasure. And for reforming these
 ' Evils, they proposed that Bishop *Usher's* Re-
 ' duction of Episcopacy unto the Form of Syno-
 ' dical Government, received in the ancient
 ' Church, should be the Ground-work of an Ac-
 ' commodation; and that Suffragans should be
 ' chosen by the respective Synods; the Associa-
 ' tions be of a moderate Extent; the Ministers
 ' be under no Oaths, or Promises of Obedience
 ' to their Bishops, as being responsible for any
 ' Transgression of the Law; and the Bishops go-
 ' vern not by Will and Pleasure, but according
 ' to the Rules, Canons and Constitutions that
 ' should be ratified and established by Act of Par-
 ' liament. As to the Liturgy, they owned the
 ' Lawfulness of a prescribed Form of publick
 ' Worship, but desired that some pious, learned
 ' and moderate Divines of both Sorts might be
 ' employed either to compile a new Liturgy, or
 ' to reform the old, adding some other various
 ' Forms in Scripture-phrase, to be used at the
 ' Ministers Choice. As to the Ceremonies, they
 ' humbly represented that the Worship of God
 ' was perfect without them; that God hath de-
 ' clared himself in Matters of Worship a jealous
 ' God;

' God; that the reformed Churches abroad, most
 ' of them, rejected the Ceremonies that were re-
 ' tained here in *England*; ever since the Refor-
 ' mation, they had been Matters of Contention
 ' and Dispute, that they had occasioned the si-
 ' lencing of many pious and useful Ministers,
 ' and given Rise to many Separations from the
 ' Church, that they were at best but indifferent,
 ' and in their own Nature mutable, and therefore
 ' they begged that Kneeling at the Sacrament
 ' might not be imposed, that the Surplice and
 ' the Cross in Baptism, and the Bowing at the
 ' Name of Jesus, rather than Christ or *Emmanu-*
 ' *el*, might be abolished, and that Care might be
 ' taken to prevent future Innovations, contrary
 ' to the Law, that so the publick Worship might
 ' be free, not only from Blame, but Suspicion.'

The Epif-
 copal Party
 reject the
 Proposals
 of Presbyt.

All this while, they never had the Favour of
 conversing with their Brethren of the Episcopal
 Perswasion, tho' they had earnestly desired it,
 and it had been promised by his Majesty: But,
 at last, after they had delivered in their Propo-
 sals, they received an Answer to them, which
 promised little Success to those, or any other En-
 deavours in order to Peace. In general, they
 let them know, ' That they do not see any Thing
 ' is wanting in their Government, or that any
 ' Thing needs to be added to it; declare against
 ' any Alterations; Bishop *Usher's* Reduction
 ' they reject, as inconsistent with other of his
 ' Discourses, and as being at best but a Heap
 ' of private Conceptions. The Liturgy they ap-
 ' plaud, as unexceptionable, nor will they part
 ' with one of their Ceremonies, insisting, that if
 ' any Abatements were made, *unquiet Spirits*
 would

Vid. Bax-
ter's Life
abridged.

‘ would be thereby encouraged to further De-
 ‘ mands.’

Some Time after the King puts forth a Declaration which contained those Concessions that were to unite them. The Ministers had a Copy of the Declaration sent to them before it was published, and Liberty granted them to take Notice of such Things as they thought inconsistent with the desired Union: Accordingly, having perused it, they drew up a Petition to the King, and joined with it some Remarks on the *Declaration*, but being delivered to the *Lord Chancellor*, he dropped it, and never called them to present it to the King.

The King's
 Declaration,
 containing
 Terms
 of Union.

When the Declaration came forth, it was, in the main, very acceptable to the *Presbyterian Ministers*, and was thought to comprehend sufficient Terms of Concord, so that if it could have been passed into a Law, many of the Ministers would have accepted it, and a Multitude of Presbyterians would have thereby been brought into the Church; but this, it is known, could not be obtained, by reason of the Stiffness of the Episcopal Party, tho' some of themselves have since applauded it as a most excellent Expedient for healing the Church. Dr. Kennet says, ‘ This Declaration has a Spirit of Truth and
 ‘ Wisdom, and Charity, above any one publick
 ‘ Profession that was ever yet made in Matters
 ‘ of Religion; it shews the admirable Temper
 ‘ and Prudence of the King and his Council in
 ‘ that tender Juncture of Affairs: He adds, it
 ‘ proves the Charity and Moderation of the suffering Bishops, in thinking such Concessions
 ‘ to be just and reasonable for Peace and Unity.’ But how it proves this I cannot imagine, when it is certain they were neither pleased with these Terms of Union, nor were for Union upon any

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Terms. He goes on (which will be granted)
‘ It condemns the unhappy Ferments that soon
‘ after followed, for want of coming to a Tem-
‘ per, and it may stand for a Pattern to Poster-
‘ ty, whenever they are heartily disposed to
‘ restore the Discipline, and heal the Breaches of
‘ the Church.’ The Doctor should at least, one
would think, have lamented the Want of this
Temper in his Brethren, and have passed a gen-
tle Censure upon them for refusing what he so
much applauds, especially when he uses so much
Freedom on the other Side. Another learned
Conformist, speaking of the same Declaration,
says, *A divine Sentence was in the King’s Mouth,*
and he erred not in Judgment, when he compo-
sed it; and, that next to the holy Scripture, he
adored it, and thought that the united Judgment
of the whole Nation could not form a more † un-
ex-

† This Declaration being the most promising Step that was taken in
that Reign towards composing the Difference among the *English* Prote-
stants, I shall recite the chief Passages of it. How much, says his Ma-
jesty, the Peace of the State is concerned in the Peace of the Church,
is evident to the World. In our Letter from *Breda*, we declared how
much we desired the Advancement of the Protestant Religion, and that
we hoped in some Time, to propose some Things for the Propagation of it,
that will satisfy the World that we have always made it our Care and our
Study: And the Truth is, we think ourself more competent to determine
many Things now in Difference, from the Time we have spent, *and the*
Experience we have had in most of the reformed Churches abroad. When
we were in *Holland*, we were attended by many grave and learned Mi-
nisters from hence, the principal Assertors of the Presbyterian Opinions,
and found them, to our great Satisfaction, Persons full of Affection for
us, of Zeal for the Peace of the Church and State, and neither Enemies
to *Episcopacy* nor *Liturg*, but modestly to desire such Alterations in either,
as, without shaking Foundations, might best allay the present Distempers;
for the better doing whereof, we did intend, upon our first Arrival in this
Kingdom, to call a Synod of Divines, as the most proper Expedient to pro-
vide a Remedy for Differences in Religion; and in the mean Time, we pub-
lished in our Declaration from *Breda*, a Liberty to tender Consciences;
and that no Man should be called in Question for Differences of Opinion
in Matters of Religion, which do not disturb the Peace of the Kingdom;
and that we shall be ready to consent to an Act of Parliament for the full
granting

granting that Indulgence. And having signified his high Approbation of the Church of *England*, and his Resolution to maintain it, he adds, that the Government of it, as ancient in this Island as the Christian Monarchy, has always, in some Respect or Degrees, been enlarged or restrained, as has been thought most conducive to the Peace and Happiness of the Kingdom; and therefore we have not the least doubt but that the present Bishops will think the present Concessions, now made by us, to allay the present Distempers, *very just and reasonable*, and will very cheerfully conform themselves thereunto.

1. We do in the first Place declare our Resolution to promote *the Power of Godliness*, and to encourage the Exercise of Religion, both publick and private, and to take care that the Lord's Day be applied to holy Exercises, that negligent and scandalous Ministers be not permitted in the Church, that the Bishops be Men of Learning and Piety, and frequent Preachers.

2. Because that some of the Diocesses are thought to be of *too large* Extent, we will appoint a sufficient Number of suffragan Bishops.

3. No Bishops shall ordain or exercise Jurisdiction, without the Assistance of the Presbytery, and no Chancellors, Commissaries, Officials, shall execute Excommunication, Absolution, or any Act of spiritual Jurisdiction, wherein any of the Ministry are concerned, with reference to their Pastoral Charge.

4. To the End that the Deans and Chapters may be better fitted to assist the Bishops, we will take care that those Preferments be given to the most learned and pious Presbyters of the Diocess: And moreover, that an equal Number to those of the Chapter, of the most learned and pious Presbyters of the same Diocess, be annually chosen by the major Vote of all the Presbyters of the Diocess, to assist in all Ordinations, and every Part of Jurisdiction, &c.

5. We will take care that Confirmation be solemnly performed, by the Information and with the Consent of the Minister of the Place, who shall admit none to the Lord's Supper, till they have made a credible Profession of their Faith, and promised Obedience to the Will of God; and besides the Suffragans and their Presbytery, every rural Dean, together with three or four Ministers of the Deanry, chosen by the major Part of all the Ministers within the same, shall meet once every Month, to receive Complaints from the Ministers or Church-Wardens of their respective Parishes, and to convince Offenders, and reform what is amiss, by their pastoral Reproofs and Admonitions, &c.

6. No Bishop shall impose any Thing upon the Clergy or People, but according to Law.

7. Though we conceive the Liturgy of the Church of *England* to be the best we have seen, yet since some except against several Things in it, we will appoint an equal Number of both Perswasions to peruse the same, and to make such Alterations as shall be thought necessary, and some additional Forms (in the Scripture-phrases as near as may be) suited unto the several Parts of Worship, and that it be left to the Minister's Choice to use one or other, at his Discretion: And our Will and

exceptionable Expedient for a firm and lasting Concord of the distracted Churches; yet it is known *this unexceptionable Expedient* was excepted against, and when the Presbyterians would have united upon the Terms of it, could not be granted. All it produced was, a Conference between a certain Number of Ministers of both Parties, appointed by his Majesty's Commission to meet together, and review the Liturgy: They met accordingly at the *Savoy*, and the Bishops, before they would enter into any Debates with them, require of the Presbyterians to bring in their Exceptions, which they did, and engage in a formal Dispute upon the Subject. But alas! it was soon seen that the Bishops, &c. never intended any Accommodation, and that the Conference was rather designed for an Occasion of falling out than Agreement.

Dr. *Nicols* imputes it to their Resentment of their late Sufferings, that they were so stiff, as not

Pleasure is, that none be punished for not using the Common Prayer until it be reviewed, and effectually reformed as aforesaid.

8. Concerning Ceremonies, our present Consideration and Work is, to gratify the private Consciences of those who are grieved with the Use of them, by indulging to, and dispensing with their omitting those Ceremonies. We will, that none shall be denied the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, tho' they do not use the *Gesture of Kneeling* in the Act of Receiving. We are content that no Man shall be compelled to use the Cross in Baptism, or suffer for not doing it; that no Man be compelled to bow at the Name of *JESUS*, or use the Surplice; and because some Men, pious and learned, cannot conform to the Subscription required by the Canon, nor take the Oath of Canonical Obedience, we are content they receive Ordination, Institution, Induction, &c. *without*; that no Man be deprived upon the Statute of the 13th of *Elizabeth*, so he declares his Assent to all the Articles of Religion, which only concern the Confession of the true Christian Faith and Doctrine of the Sacraments; and having repeated his Resolution, that none shall be disquieted for different Opinions in Matters of Religion, he conjures all his loving Subjects to acquiesce in this Declaration concerning Differences which have so much disquieted the Nation at Home, and given such Offence to the Protestant Churches abroad. Dated at *Whitehall*, Octob. 25. 1660.

not to change *deadly Sin* in the Liturgy, which the Ministers objected against as improper, but ^{Episcopal} surely there is little Honour in this Apology, ^{Party abso-} which implies, they would sacrifice the Peace ^{lutely a-} of the Church to their own Passions. The ^{gainst any} Truth on it is, they were determin'd against ^{Accommo-} any Union with the Presbyterians; all the Use that some of them designed to make of this Treaty, was only to know upon what Terms the Ministers might be brought into the Church, *That they might more effectually provide to exclude them*; so that Archbishop Sheldon is reported to have said, *Now we know their Minds, we will make them all Knaves if they conform*; and when a certain Gentleman shewed some Regret, that the Door was so strait, that he feared many sober Ministers could not have Admission; a certain Dean replies, *If we thought so many of them would have conformed, we would have made it straiter*; nay, it seems, so tenacious were they of all their ancient Possessions, that when some of those Things came to be debated in the Convocation-House, a Reverend Doctor comes out in a Sort of Transport, that they had carried it for *Bell* and the *Dragon*; and thus the good Design of the King's Declaration was frustrated; *Bell* and the *Dragon*, and all the rest kept their Place.

And now Things soon returned to their former Chancel; and the Spirit of Persecution is raised again, and the *old Plot* in all its Branches against the Protestant Religion and *English* Liberties, revived and carried on with their usual Zeal; this will appear upon a short View of the Maxims, Measures, and Transactions of King *Charles* the Second's Reign.

And

Things
turn to
their own
Chanel.

Differen-
ces sement-
ed between
both Par-
ties, and
the Dissen-
ters mark-
ed for Suf-
ferings.

A Presby-
terian Plot
contrived
to intro-
duce the
Uniformi-
ty Act.

And I shall first take Notice of the Contrivance of our Enemies, to keep up Animosities among the *English* Protestants; one Party is set to oppress and devour another, which was of the most fatal Consequence, and was no question owing in some Degree to Popish Counsels. That Body of Men that succeeded the old Puritans, and that had not only stood firm to the Principles of the Reformation, but were for improving it, and retiring farther from *Rome*; these were made the Objects of a peculiar Spite, and put under very great Hardships.

After the Treaty of the *Savoy*, which was never intended for Union by some of the chief Managers, but was really all Grimace, a Resolution is taken not only to cast these Men out of the Church, but to shut the Door against them for ever: To which Purpose the *Act of Uniformity* was contrived; and that it might pass

the more currently some have Recourse to a Stratagem infamous to a Degree; and that was to trump up a Plot against the Government, and father it upon the Presbyterians: A particular Account of which was published by Capt. *Yarranton* in the Year 1681, and from him in several Books since, as also by Mr. *Baxter* in his Life, who was made a Party in it.

Capt. *Yarranton* gives us both the Plot and Occasion of it, speaking of the King's Declaration mentioned before, he says, 'If the Parliament had passed it into an Act, it had probably cemented the greatest Part of the Protestants throughout the Nation; but some, both of the Clergy and Laity, that bore the greatest Sway rejected it; and so his Majesty's good and peaceable Intentions proved abortive; these Men, (by whose Insigations you may imagine) instead of an Act of Union, re-

olve

' solve upon an Act of Uniformity, which they
 ' could not but know would prove the greatest
 ' *Bone of Contention* that ever was in the Nation,
 ' and some of the leading Churchmen were
 ' heard to say, they would have an Act so fra-
 ' med, as would reach *every Puritan* in the King-
 ' dom; and that if they thought any of them
 ' would so stretch their Consciences, as to be
 ' comprehended by it, they would insert yet
 ' other Conditions and Subscriptions, so as that
 ' they should have no Benefit by it. But the
 ' King and Parliament they feared were not ful-
 ' ly prepared for the passing such an Act; there-
 ' upon a Contrivance was set on Foot, to make
 ' a *Presbyterian Plot*; and this was the first they
 ' ever took in Hand, and because it was never
 ' taken notice of by some, and forgotten by o-
 ' thers, I shall, says my Author, therefore put
 ' it down at large, which I can the better do,
 ' because I was a great Sufferer therein, and
 ' what I relate, if Occasion be, I can prove it
 ' by Letters and many living Witnesses.' This
 Sham-Plot was laid in about Thirty six Coun-
 ties in *England*, that in *Worcestershire* he
 chiefly confines himself to. ' In the Month of
 ' *November*, says he, in the Year 1661. seve-
 ' ral Letters were drawn up and delivered by Sir
 ' *John P——*, to one *Richard N——* his
 ' Neighbour, to carry to one *Cole* of *Martly*,
 ' about four Miles from *Worcester*, who is now
 ' living. This *Cole*, according to Instructions,
 ' delivereth a Facquet of Letters to one *Churn*
 ' of *Whitebinsford*, (who also is, or lately was
 ' alive, and dwelt near *Martly*;) This Pacquet
 ' of Letters was carried by *Cole* and *Churn*, and
 ' delivered by Sir *John Packington*, (from whom
 ' it came) and before him *Churn* makes an Affi-
 ' davit, that, going early in the Morning to his
 ' La-

‘ Labour, he struck his Bill upon an Hedge to
 ‘ cut a Thorn; and, by and by, on the other
 ‘ Side the Hedge, he spied a *Scots Pedler*, put-
 ‘ ting up Letters hastily in his Pack; and, being
 ‘ affrighted, as he supposed, he left that Pacquet
 ‘ behind in the Ditch, and went down a Lane
 ‘ leading to Col. *John Birch*’s House.

‘ This Oath being made, and the Pacquet
 ‘ delivered and opened, it presently appeared,
 ‘ that there was a Conspiracy on Foot, to stir
 ‘ up Rebellion in the Kingdom, and to raise an
 ‘ Army for that Purpose; and that Capt. *An-*
 ‘ *drew Yarranton* was to command an Army in
 ‘ those Parts; for which Purpose there was se-
 ‘ veral Letters directed to him from some Mi-
 ‘ nisters and others; particularly one from Mr.
 ‘ *Baxter* Minister in *Kidderminster*, intimating,
 ‘ That he had provided a considerable Body of
 ‘ Men, well armed, which should be ready a-
 ‘ gainst the Time appointed; and another from
 ‘ Mr. *Sparry*, intimating, He had ordered him
 ‘ 500 *L.* lodged in a Friend’s Hand: Upon this
 ‘ the Militia of the County of *Worcester* was rais-
 ‘ ed immediately, and the City filled with them,
 ‘ the very Night after the Pacquet was opened:
 ‘ The next Morning the Captain was seized by
 ‘ a Troop of Horse, and brought Prisoner to
 ‘ *Worcester*; as also was Mr. *Sparry*, Mr. *Osland*,
 ‘ Mr. *Moor* and Mr. *Brian* Ministers, together
 ‘ with some Scores of others: They were all
 ‘ kept close Prisoners for ten Days; by which
 ‘ Time the Trained-bands being weary, most of
 ‘ them were discharged paying their Fees; but
 ‘ the Captain, Mr. *Sparry* and the two *Oslands*,
 ‘ were still kept close Prisoners; the Dignitaries
 ‘ of the Cathedral taking Care, when the Trained-
 ‘ bands retired, to raise sixty Foot Soldiers (who
 ‘ had double Pay, and were called the Clergy-
 ‘ band.

‘band) to secure these Criminals.’ One Jest among a great many Villanies in the Contrivance of this Plot was, that the terrible Man, Capt. *Baxter*, was then at *London*, and had been so for some Time; I suppose at the very Juncture when he promised to appear at the Head of his Troops. The like Plot was set on Foot in other Counties at the same Time; sundry Letters being feigned in the Name of Persons, and directed to such as they had a Mind to make Criminals; exhorting them to be ready with their Arms and Men: And, for a Sample, I will recite a Letter on the Occasion of the *Oxfordshire-Plot*, another Branch of *Baxter’s Plot*. It was directed to Mr. *Martin* the Town-Clerk, and run thus:

Mr. Martin,

I pray you warn all those Men to be in Arms on Wednesday next in the Night; you know already where they must meet. There will come to Oxford Two hundred Men, all in their Arms; you know who doth command them; Dr. Greenwood hath sent to Mr. Combs the Barber, to get his Party of Scholars ready that Night; and I have sent to Mr. Hickman to get his Men ready at the same Time; and Dr. Gawin has sent to Mr. Cornish, to get his Men ready at the same Time. I have sent to Dr. Cannaught to get his Men ready; and all the Scholars are to meet at Dr. Roger’s Garden; and I pray send the Blunderbushes thither, for I intend to be there myself, and I pray give the Bearer 5 L. out of the Stock, and I pray remember me to the six Men unnamed; five Counties are to rise that Night without fail. I need write no more to you: The Word is, GOD is the Word; and I pray tell them all so.

Mr.

These for-
ged Plots
the Pream-
ble to the
Uniformi-
ty Bill.

Mr. *Martin* immediately carries this Letter to a Justice of Peace, which was the common Method taken, whereby the Snare was avoided; notwithstanding several we trapaned, and Multitudes were taken up in all Parts of the Kingdom, and that for being concerned in *Baxter's Plot*, as they called it.

The Thing designed in all this, was to possess the King and Parliament, that it was absolutely necessary to make a severe Act against such a *restless Sort of Men*, who were always plotting to disturb the Government, and they were not disappointed; for when the Parliament met, upon the 20th of *November*, (to which Time they were adjourned) the King in his Speech to them takes notice, 'That there were many wicked Instruments still as active as ever, who laboured Night and Day to disturb the publick Peace, and recommends it to their Care to provide proper Remedies;' and no sooner was this Parliament in their Geers, but up starts Sir *John P——*, one of the Knights for *Worcestershire*; and, with open Mouth, informs them of a dangerous *Presbyterian Plot* on Foot, and that now that many of the chief Conspirators were Prisoners in *Worcestershire*: The like Information was given by some Members, who served for *Oxfordshire, Staffordshire, &c.* Yea, this was the general Cry, appears, from the printed Pamphlets at that Time: Hereupon the Bill of Uniformity was presently upon the Anvil, formed and finished that Session; and that these Plots were a Preamble to it, and designed to introduce it, cannot reasonably be questioned, considering the Temper of Men and Posture of Affairs at that Time.

I shall say nothing of this famous Act, only that it put an End to all Hopes of Peace and Concord, thrust 2000 Ministers out of the Church, and

and led on a Train of such Hardships and Sufferings, as are a Reproach to a Protestant Nation : And indeed it seems this Law entred, *that the Offence might abound*, they took Methods to force Men to be Transgressors, on Purpose, one would think, *that they might punish them* : Henceforward nothing but Reviling, Reproaching, Fines, Imprisonments, Law upon Law, made against the Presbyterians ; and even the severe Act of the Thirty fifth of Queen *Elizabeth*, that made Non-conformity Banishment or Death, was revived and commanded to be put in Execution.

Indeed after this Spirit had raged, and those Severities had been exercised a considerable while, the Parliament and Nation began to see their Mistake, and partly from the Experience they had of the Unsuccessfulness of such Measures ; and partly from the Apprehension of Destruction coming upon them all from the common Enemy ; they changed their Counsels, and set themselves to promote Union among his Majesty's Subjects : To which Purpose many Offers were made, and Schemes projected ; but all was rendered ineffectual by the *high-flying Party*, who still kept the Breaches open for the Enemy to come in at ; which was the Tendency of their Conduct, and the Event also, whatever their Meaning was.

And when nothing of this Kind would pass, no Union could be brought about between the Churchmen and Dissenters ; the Parliament resolve, if they cannot make Peace, yet to stop Hostilities by disarming the one Party, and saving the other from their Violence, that the Enemy might not triumph in the Ruin of both ; to which Purpose a Bill is brought in *for the exempting his Majesty's Subjects from the Penalties of the Act of the Thirty fifth of Queen Elizabeth*. This Bill passed both the Houses ; but when the King came

came to the House of Lords to pass sundry Bills, *this* (for the Relief of Protestant Dissenters) *was taken from the Table*, and could never be found; which as it could not be done without the King's Privy, so it convinced many, that the Indulgence the King had himself granted to Dissenters, was not out of real Tenderness to them, but to introduce his dispensing Power, &c. (for he did it without Act of Parliament) so that the Scuffle is continued. No Favour must be shown these Men, but they are left to be torn to Pieces by their Fellow-Protestants, with what Design, and for what Purpose, it is easy to imagine.

Severities
against the
Presbyterians
in Scotland.

I may reckon of the same Nature, and certainly of the same Tendency, the manifest Resolution of the Court to crush the Presbyterian Church of *Scotland*; which was done effectually by *Lauderdale* and others. In the Year 1664. some *Scots* Presbyterians (Dr. *Kennet* calls them the most worthy) came up to Court and betrayed their Church; Mr. *Sharp*, *Hamilton*, *Farewel*, *Logton*: They first got the King's Declaration, for restoring the Government of *Scotland* by Archbishops and Bishops, as it was exercised, 1637. and, which it may be, was the Cream of the Jest, got themselves made Bishops. And in the very next Parliament in *Scotland*, the *Solemn League and Covenant* (that his Majesty had thrice taken) was abjured; and all such Leagues declared unlawful, as was all Manner of Resistance of the King on any Pretence whatsoever.

And now a Part was acted in that Kingdom, so black and horrid, as is enough to make both the Ears of him that hears it tingle: The Laws against the Covenanters were written in Blood, and executed by Dragoons: A few State-Questions were invented that they knew would intangle poor Countrymen, and if they failed in

answering these, they were presently taken up and hanged, without waiting the Formalities of legal Trial and Conviction: It may be, no History can paralel the Barbarities and inhuman Butcheries acted towards the Presbyterian Scots: *Detection*, (I mean where Protestants were the Actors) *Coke* Vol. II. p. 198. represents the Matter thus; ' *Lauderdale*, says ' he, in the second Parliament held by him got ' an Act declaring, That, by virtue of the King's ' Supremacy, the ordering of the Government ' of the Church does properly belong to his Majesty, &c. and that he may enact and emit ' such Orders and Constitutions concerning ' Church-Administrations, Persons, Meetings, ' &c. as he shall think fit, any Law, Act or ' Custom to the contrary notwithstanding.

' And being armed with sufficient Power, he *K. Charles* ' made all Sorts of People depose upon Oath, *for arbitra-* ' their Knowledge of the Persons of Dissenters *ry Power* ' in the Exercise of their Worship upon Penalty ' of Imprisonment, Transportation, and being ' sold for Slaves, &c. making it Death for any ' to preach in Fields or Houses, where any are ' without Doors; ordering, That every Man for ' himself, and all under him, should give Bond ' not to go to Field-meetings; and to inform ' against, pursue and deliver up all *outer Mini-* ' sters to Judgment. He adds, That the Exe- ' cution of these Orders was not by legal Offi- ' cers, but by an Army of *Highland* Robbers, ' who quartered upon the Country; so that it may ' be a Question, whether the *French* King did ' not take his Measures in his *dragooning Refor-* ' mation, by the Ground-work laid by * *Lauder-* ' *dale*? S An-

* It would fill a large Volume to relate but a Part of the Barbarities exercised towards this persecuted People, in the western Shires, where they were most numerous, and firm to their Principles; they had an Host of *Highlanders* brought down upon them, 10 or 11000 added to the standing Troops. These Savages more cruel than

The Suffering of the Presbyterians in Scotland.

than *Turks* or *Tartars*, were to press upon the People a *Bond of Conformity*, wherein the Subscriber was bound for himself, Wife, Children, Servants and Tenants, to frequent his Parochial Church; never go to the Field-Meetings, nor entertain any that went; but to inform against, pursue and deliver up all *vagrant Preachers*. Whoever refused to subscribe these Bonds, must have 10, 20, 30 or 40 of these *Ecclesiastical Litters*, quartered upon him, who, besides their Maintenance, exact a Contribution from the Landlord of 6 *d.* a Day for a common Soldier, and more for an Officer; nor did they take Leave ordinarily till they had destroyed and laid waste all where they came. It would be endless to recount the Ravages of these Plunderers, and the Calamities of the Country and Families under their Discipline.

After the Rising at *Bothwel-Bridge*, Severities increased; it was made criminal to harbour any of the Rebels, and Multitudes were fined, imprisoned, and put to Death, for having *seen or spoken with some of them*. The Methods of their Proceeding, both in convicting and executing such as were marked for Destruction, were as inhuman as most ever made use of by *Pagans* or *Papists*, and seem to make a pretty exact Paralel with the *Spanish Inquisition*; as the trapanning Men by Questions, demanding of them their Thoughts and Judgment about what passed, when they had nothing to accuse them of, thereby making them accuse themselves; as what they thought of the *Death of the Bishop of St. Andrews*; Whether was it Murder? and of the Rising at *Bothwel-Bridge*, whether Rebellion and Sin against God? Sometimes they would keep them in Prison a Year together, without any Examination on letting them know their Crime, in the mean Time sending, under the Pretence of imprisoning, Spies upon them that would draw out something that would afford them Matter of Accusation; or if that could not be done, they would put such Oaths to them as they knew they scrupled, and thereby do their Work effectually. They frequently, when Prisoners were tried before them, had neither Accuser nor Libel (exactly the Way of the *Inquisitors* in *Spain*) but require them to answer *super inquirendis*; to all Questions they are pleased to propose. And if the Jury, in a Case most notorious, happened to be a little shy, and to boggle at the Work prepared for them, the King's Advocate would, by Commands and Threatnings, awe them to a Compliance, and force them to bring in the Prisoner guilty. And, which is altogether borrowed from the *Inquisition*, when they could not get a direct Answer to their Questions, they would extort it by Torture, as by the Boot, &c.

And for their Executions, how inhuman were they! Sometimes they would cut off a Person's Ears upon one Sentence, and then put him to Death upon another Sentence; they spared neither Age nor Sex: Some Women were hanged and others drowned, with admirable Art and Contrivance; being tied to a Stake within the Sea-Mark, and there left to view the Enemy, Death, advancing towards them Step by Step, on the Back of the increasing Waves. Many of the Men had their Hands and privy Members cut off, their Heart plucked out and thrown into the Fire whilst alive. The Boots and Thumkins were the common Instruments of Torture, by which the very Marrow of their Legs and Thumbs was squeezed

Another Step towards the general Ruin in *K. Charles* tended, was the setting up, *illegal arbitrary* for arbitrary Power, under the Name of *Prerogative*: One may reasonably suppose something of this would be natural to *King Charles*, for it dwelt first in his Grandfather *James*, and his Father *Charles*; so that he had it by a Sort of *hereditary Right*, nor did it leave him as long as he lived, for *quo semel est imbuta. &c.* *Dr. Wellwood* says of him, That if he had any fixed Maxim of Government, it was *to play one Party against another, to be thereby more Master of both.*

And as this was his Inclination, so he met with enow that fell in with it, and that not only Court-Parasites, the constant Way of those Vermin, but the main Body of the Nation. This appeared in an uncommon Degree, immediately upon his Restoration, as *Dr. Welwood* observes, who ascribes it to a more than ordinary Care of Providence over *England*, that we did not throw up all our Liberties at once. ‘When the King was brought back, says he, he possessed so entirely the Hearts of his Subjects, that nothing was thought too much for them to grant, or him to receive; among other Designs to please him, there were one formed at Court to settle such a

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‘Re-

squeezed out. Many of their Prisoners, whilst under Methods of Examination, were kept waking (by Soldiers sworn to the Purpose) for 7, 8 or 9 Nights together, and, when led to Execution, must not be suffered to speak one Word for their own Vindication, or the Instruction of others, the Drums beating all the while; and if it be asked where this was done, among *Turks, Tartars, or Jews*, the *Canibals or Caribbees*, or rather the *Tououpinambo's*, who, as *Mr. Locke* says, believed they merited Heaven by the Virtues of Revenge, and eating Abundance of their Enemies: No, these were not the Actors in this Tragedy but Christians; and, which is worse, Protestants; and such as would take it ill not to be distinguished as most primitive, pure, &c. But tell it not in *Gath*! Nor do I mention these Things with the least Design of fixing a Reproach upon any Party that renounces such Principles; only to show the Spirit of that Time, and beget an Abhorrence in the Reader of such Inhumanity.

' Revenue upon him during Life, by Parliament,
 ' as should place him beyond the Necessity of
 ' asking more, excepting in the Case of a War,
 ' or some such extraordinary Occasion. The
 ' Earl of *Southampton* came heartily into it,
 ' out of a mere Principle of Honour and Affec-
 ' tion to the King; but Chancellor *Clarendon* se-
 ' cretly opposed it. It seems *Clarendon* endea-
 ' voured to take off the Treasurer, telling him,
 ' He knew more of the King's Temper and In-
 ' clination than he could pretend to know, and
 ' that if such a Revenue was settled for Life,
 ' not only neither of them should be of further
 ' use; but that in all Probability they should not
 ' see many more Sessions of Parliament during
 ' that Reign. This Passage came afterwards to
 ' the King's Ear, and was the true Reason why
 ' he abandoned *Clarendon* to his Enemies.'

But notwithstanding the Disappointment, adds
 the same Author, King *Charles* made a Shift to
 get more Money from his first Parliament towards
 the Expence of his Pleasures, than all the Prede-
 cessors of the *Norman* Race had obtained before
 towards the Charges of their Wars.

And as they filled his Purse, they very much
 raised his Power; they put a Sword into his
 Hand, and tied up the Hands of the Nation,
 and of every Man in it, from resisting even
 a Russian that comes to cut their Throat;
 if he can but show the King's Commission,
 which was done by the famous Declaration insert-
 ed in the Act of *Uniformity*, and to be subscrib-
 ed by every Dignitary, Vicar, Parson, Curate,
 or Schoolmaster, is in these Words:

*I A. B. do declare; That it is not lawful,
 upon any Pretence whatsoever, to take up Arms
 against the King; and that I do abhor the traitor-*

ous Position of taking up Arms by his Authority against his Person, or any that are commissioned by him.

The Doctrine of Non-resistance established by a Law.

At the same Time they enact the sole Right of the Militia to be in the King : Add to this, that as the Makers and Interpreters of the Law had thus advanced the Prerogative, and declared the King irresistible; so another Sort of Men fell in with them; the one declare this is Law, and the other Gospel, and bind it upon the Conscience on Penalty of Damnation.

Some Time after a Declaration, much in the same Terms, was required by Act of Parliament to be taken by all that enjoyed any Office, either Civil or military, Privy Counsellors, Justices of Peace, and Members of Parliament, with an additional Clause, to this Effect :

I A. B. do swear, I will not endeavour any Alteration in the Government of this Kingdom in Church or State, as it is by Law established.

This was called *the Test of Abhorrence*, and was designed to purge the House of Commons, as well as serve other Purposes.

And now what Wonder if the King set up for *absolute*, and resolved to pursue his own Measures, when the Men of the Law make it Treason to resist him upon any Pretence whatever, and the Men of the Gospel pronounce it Damnation; thereby to use the Words of Dr. *Welwood*, adopting a second Time into our Religion a *Mohometan Principle* under the Name of *Passive Obedience* and *Non-resistance*, which, since the Time of the Impostor that first broached it, has been the Means to enslave a great Part of the World.

What Influence such Doctrine had in that, and especially in the following Reign, is not forgotten. King *Charles* indeed could not pursue the Principle in its full Length, he found the Parliament at last ready to stand up against him, and dispute the Power they had given him; but he shewed his good Will, and ventured as far as he could: Hence his *dispensing with the penal Laws*, by his Declaration of Indulgence, in 1662. and again ten Years after; and his *shutting up the Exchequer*, which was done by a Right, according to which, the King might seize any Man's Estate in the Kingdom at Pleasure, and apply it to his own Use: The Matter was thus, The King resolves upon a War with the *Dutch*, but, wanting Money to supply his present Occasions, and not thinking fit to advise with a Parliament, and ask their Assistance, or indeed to let them sit at that Time, when his Councils would not bear Examination, he resolves upon an Expedient, and that was to *seize the Exchequer*, where the Bankers had lodged between Thirteen and Fourteen hundred thousand Pounds of other Peoples Money. The King promised indeed Payment, and that no Person should be defrauded of any Thing that was justly due to him; but he had too many Occasions for Money, and too little Regard to his Word, to trouble himself much about the Matter; so that all this Money was lost to the Proprietors, till one of King *William's* Parliaments, about thirty Years after, out of Regard to the publick Credit, as well as the Relief of the particular Sufferers, makes Provision for the Debt. Mr. *Baxter*, it seems had lodged 1000 *L.* there for charitable Uses, which had the same Fate with the rest.

An-

Another Branch of the same Design and Step K. Charles
a Pensioner
of France. taken in our Ruin, was the strict Friendship and Correspondence carried on with *France*;

King *Charles*; though he was for grasping at more Power than the Constitution allowed, or than he knew how to use, either for his own Honour or his Subjects Comfort; yet so far disgraced himself, as to become a Sort of Vassal and Dependant of a neighbouring Prince: Any one that reads an impartial History of his Reign, will see him a *constant Pensioner of France*. The *French* King supplies him with Money and Mistresses: and for this he submits his Counsels to his Directions, and, in effect, sells and delivers the Nation into his Hand: A Foundation for this fatal Friendship, or rather Conspiracy, was laid, it is probable before King *Charles's* Restoration; and was farther strengthened imme-

diately upon his Accession, when the Queen-Mother made a Visit to the *English* Court, to congratulate her Son, as was pretended; 'But Complete
History of
England,
Vol. III.
p. 214.

'it was generally suspected, says a late Historian, her true Errand was to draw her Son to a Match with *Portugal*, a League with *France*, and Surrender of *Dunkirk*.' And I need not say how she succeeded herein.

Dunkirk, though looked upon of that Importance to the Nation, that the Parliament was pre-

paring an Act to annex it for ever to the Imperial Crown of these Realms; yet was sold to the *French* King for Five hundred thousand Pounds, a Price not exceeding in Value what the Ammunition, Artillery and Stones were worth, as was alledged afterwards by the Commons, in their Charge against *Clarendon*: The Bargain being made, it was ingloriously put into their Hands, under the Government of Count *D'Estades*; the *English* Governor with two Compa-

nies guarding the Gates at their Entrance, and delivering up the Keys. This Action was very ill resented by the Body of the People of *England*, who were apt to think the Sale of so important a Place (after the Parliament's giving and applying Money for the Maintenance of it) was the deplorable Sign of a weak and mercenary Court.

The Friendship with *France* was so firm and inviolable, and looked upon so necessary to support the arbitrary Measures the Court was pursuing, and the Hopes of a *Popish Expectant*, that every Thing must be sacrificed to it. We cannot have a stronger Instance of this than the *Triple League*, which was given up, and all the Security it contained, in Complaisance to *France*, and to serve a Faction at home.

It is known, the growing Power and ambitious Design of *France* alarmed all its Neighbours, and put several of them upon entering into Measures to secure themselves against the Encroachments of that aspiring Monarch. Hence the famous *Triple Alliance* between *England*, *Holland* and *Sweden*, which was to true *Englishmen* and Protestants, as Life from the Dead, it being the great Bulwark at that Time to the Protestant Religion and Liberties of *Europe*, especially of *Britain*, then languishing; but this, as I said, was given up, and vilely betrayed by those that were at the Helm of Affairs.

The Triple
League
dissolved.

Secret Hist.
of Europe,
p. 112.

Clifford,
Arlington,
Buckingham,
Ashley,
Lauderdale.

' says a late Writer, thro' Corruption, were gained to the *French* Interest; an hundred thousand Pistols were remitted to *Colbert*, the *French* Ambassador, which he laid out to the best Advantage. The Managers, called the *Cabal*, because the initial Letters of their Names compose that Word, had the greatest Share of it, who being well paid for their Service, set themselves,

‘ selves, by all the Arts imaginable, to break
 ‘ the Triple League, and make the King fall out
 ‘ with the *Dutch*.’ To which Purpose, they
 labour to perswade him, that they were sollici-
 ting an Alliance with the *French* against *Eng-
 land*; and in short, that his Majesty ought to
 have nothing to do with a Republick that had
 vowed his Destruction. The Meaning of all this
 was obvious enough, viz. to draw the King to
 yet closer Engagements with *France*, and sepa-
 rate him from his Protestant Allies.

It was to further this Design, that the Dutchess
 of *Orleans*, King *Charles*’s Sister, is sent over,
 and had an Interview with him at *Dover*. ‘ In Complete
 ‘ Pretence, it was for a Visit of Love and Respect History of
 England,
 Vol. 3.
 pag. 278.
 ‘ to her Brother, but in Design, for a Message
 ‘ from the *French* Court to break the *Triple*
 ‘ League, and to draw the King of *England* to
 ‘ assist *France* against the *Dutch*.’ And when
 she had finished her Negotiation, she left behind
 her to perform what remained, a beautiful Lady
 Madam *Carewell*, afterwards Dutchess of *Portf-
 mouth*, the King’s Favourite Mistress, and the
 Nation’s greatest Enemy.

Soon after *Coventry* was dispatched to *Swe-
 den*, expressly, as he affirmed at his Departure,
 says Mr. *Marvel*, to dissolve the *Triple League*, Growth of
 which he did effectually, and brought the *Swedes* Popery,
 over to the *French* Interest: He adds, ‘ It is a pag. 28.
 ‘ Matter of sad Reflection, that he who so well
 ‘ understood both the Theory and Practick of
 ‘ Honour, could in so eminent an Instance forget
 ‘ it, and be a Tool for breaking the Three-fold
 ‘ Cord, by which the Interest of *England* and
 ‘ all Christendom was fastned.’ At his Return,
 he was rewarded with the Place of Secretary of
 State, besides what his Master of *France* gave
 him for so meritorious a Service.

And

And now agreeable to this fine Management, and in Pursuit of the grand Plot, the *Dutch* are cried out of, and marked out for Destruction, as our worst Enemies, only they want a Pretence against them, which they soon find: Mr. Mar-

A Quarrel pick'd with the *Dutch*. *vel* thus represents it. 'They try an Experiment, and make a Case that had never before happened, or been imagined; A *sorry Yatch*, but bearing the *English* Jack, in Aug. 1671. sails into the Midst of their Fleet, singling out the Admiral, shooting twice sharp upon him: The Commander in Chief, in Deference to his Majesty's Colours, and in Consideration of the Amity between the two Nations, paid our Admiral of the Yatch a Visit, to know the Reason; and learning it was because *he and his whole Fleet* had failed to strike Sail to his *small Craft*, the *Dutch* Commander civilly excused it, as a Matter of the first Instance, in which he could have no Instructions. The *Yatch* having thus acquitted her self, returned home freight with the Quarrel she was sent for.' And this kindled the *Dutch* War, so much to the Reproach and Infamy of the *English* Counsels, as well as Prejudice of their Affairs.

It is observable the *French* King had twisted both Interests together, civil and religious, in the Enterprize against the *Dutch*; and therefore, by his Ambassador at *Vienna*, declares he had undertaken the War against *Holland*, for propagating the *Catholick Cause*, and that all good *Christians* were bound to join with him to extirpate *Heresy*; and it was in this War, most perfidiously begun, that the good *Christians* of the *English* Court joined, tho' at the same Time, the *French* King took care that the *Hereticks* should have the chief Honour of the designed Extirpation

tion themselves, his Business was to stand and look on. 'He only studied, says Mr. *Marvel*, 'to sound our Seas, to spy our Ports, to learn our Buildings, to contemplate our Way of Fighting, to consume ours, and preserve his own Navy, and to order all so, that the two great Naval Powers of *Europe* being crushed together, he might remain sole Arbitrator of the Ocean, and by Consequence Master of all the Isles and Continents.' And he wanted but a little of accomplishing this, having over-run *Holland* with an Army of near an hundred and fifty Thousand, and reduced the States to the very Brink of Ruin; so that in great Consternation, a Multitude of their richest Families abandoned their Country, and retired to *Hamburgh*, *Antwerp*, and other Places, for Security.

And now it was that the Prince of *Orange*, Prince of afterwards the glorious *King William*, entred upon the Office he was born for, the Relief of the Distressed, and the Rescue of sinking States and Nations, the People, thro' the Prevalency of the *Lovestein Faction*, sworn Enemies to the House of *Orange*, had abolished the Office of *Stadtholder*; but now they see a Necessity of restoring it, which they do in the Person of the Prince of *Orange*, reinstating him in all the Dignities of his Family, which I cannot but look upon as an happy *Crisis* in Favour of the Protestant Religion, and Liberties of this Part of the World, that were sacrificed to the Ambition of *France*.

Immediately upon the young Prince's Advancement, the drooping Spirit of the *Dutch* began to revive. The *French* now turned all their Applications towards the Prince, and made his Highness all the Offers that could be of Honour and Advantage to his Family, *provided he would*

be

be contented to depend on them. The Bait proposed was, that the Prince should be Sovereign of the Provinces, *under the Protection of England and France*; and it seems the Duke of *Buckingham*, one of the *English* Ambassadors to the *French* King, pressed the Prince to accept of such a Sovereignty, as *France* had proposed (*i. e.*) under the Two Crowns, representing as an Argument to perswade him to it, the desperate State of his Country: The Prince constantly replied, that he would never sell the Liberties of his Country, his Ancestors had so long defended; and as to what his Grace had said of the dangerous Condition his Country was in, he replied, it was indeed true, yet he had one Way still left not to see its Ruin completed, *and that was to ly in the last Ditch.*

And never was a young Soldier and Statesman kept more busy to prevent this (the utter Destruction with which they were threatned.) The *French* carry on their Conquests by Land, the *English* join with them by Sea, as if they were resolved to pursue the Maxim often repeated by a great Man of the *English* Court, *Delenda est Carthago*, having, at the Instigation of the *French* Ambassador, Monsieur *Colbert* (to save his Master's Pocket) seized the *Dutch Smyrna* Fleet, so that we first plundered them, and then fought them with their own Weapons.

The Prince makes a noble Stand against the Enemy, notwithstanding the Disadvantages he was under; gives him several Repulses; forces him to abandon some of his Conquests, and being by the concurring Suffrage of his Country made *Hereditary Stadtholder*, is an Instrument to take off the *English* from their most impolitick and fatal Confederacy with *France*, the Parliament of *England* in the mean Time seconding his

his Endeavours, voting for Peace, offering to give Money for that, but refusing any for the Service of such a War, so that a Peace was concluded with *England*, 1674. upon which the Prince was more at leisure to attend his encroaching Neighbour, and defend his Borders against his Invasions.

In this same Year the memorable Battle of *Senef* was fought between the Confederates and *Senef*. the *French*, the one Army commanded by the young Prince of *Orange*, and the other by the experienced General the Prince of *Conde*: The Fight lasted all Day, and so equal was it, that both Sides claimed the Victory; tho' the Prince of *Orange* had one Argument for it, that is generally thought sufficient, he kept the Field whilst the Enemy retired. Such was the Conduct and Bravery of the young Prince, that the Enemies General, the great *Conde*, could not forbear giving him a most honourable Character. 'I have fought, says he, *Twenty Princes of Orange* that Day, for he was every where, he shewed the Experience of an old General, and the Bravery of a Soldier; the only Fault, I think he was guilty of was, exposing his Person too much. In short, I have reason to believe, that this young Prince will equal, if not exceed, the *Williams*, the *Maurices*, and *Henries*, his glorious and renowned Ancestors.' Nor did he ever forfeit this Character, but continued to raise it higher and higher, by a Series of Actions that made him the Terror of *France*, and the Darling of his Country.

And when I have added, that this young Hero was afterwards married to a Daughter of *England*, the Princess *Mary*, by Means of which Match he came to succeed to our Crown, and was the happy Instrument of so many great Things done
and

and yet doing, I cannot forbear calling him *the good Genius of Europe*, and suppose him raised up, on Purpose to be a Blessing to this Part of the World.

But, to return, after the Peace between *England* and *Holland*, the *French* were continually harraffing us, filling our Seas with Pirates, and making Prize, plundering or murdering all they met with; and while they were doing this, *were encouraged to plunder the Nation.* *supplied with Recruits from hence*; if any would go voluntarily into the *French* Service, they were encouraged, and others that would not were impress, and carried over by mere Force; and which would amaze any that has never read the Principles that influenced and governed at that Time. 'His Majesty's Magazines were emptied, to furnish the *French* with all Sorts of Ammunition; of which the following Note contains but a small Parcel in Comparison of what was daily conveyed away under Colour of 'Cockets for *Fersy* and other Places, from *June 1675, to June 1677.* were exported from *London to France.* Granadoes without Number under Pretence of un-wrought Iron.

Marvel
Growth,
Ec. p. 69.

Lead Shot 21 Tuns.

Gun-Powder 7134 Barrels.

Iron Shot 18 Tun, 600 Weight.

Iron Ordinance 441-Quantity 292 Tuns 900 Weight.

Carriages, Bandaliers, Pikes, &c. uncertain.

Now this was the Reprisal we took of the *French*, for plundering us, burning our Ships, and robbing our Merchants; and indeed all our Conduct was agreeable hereto, so that no body can view it from first to last, but must be ready to think King *Charles* was preparing to do what he would have had the Prince of *Orange* to have done

done with respect to *Holland*, viz. to hold the *Sovereignty of England under the Protection of France*. The better to cultivate this good Un-Alliance ^{with France} derstanding between the two Crowns, and especially, to serve his own Interest, the Duke of ^{strengthened by the} *York*, now a Widower by the Death of his Dutch ^{D. of York's} *Clarendon's* Daughter, who declared she died a Papist, leaves the *French King* to appoint a Wife for him, who chose the *Princess of Modena* a Dependant on *France* (from whence she was to have her Portion) and a Favourite of the Court of *Rome*, being related to the Pope. This Match was soon concluded by Means of *Coleman* the Duke's Secretary, and Father *Ferrier* the *French King's* Confessor; upon which the Duke and the *French King* mutually declare their Interest to be one and the same; and the *French King* offers him his Purse to assist him against all his Enemies.

The last Work they had to do, and which indeed was the Principal in Intention, and which all the rest subserved, was the gradual undermining the *Protestant Religion*, and making Way for the Return of that Heap of Folly, called the *Catholic Faith*. An Eye was had to this all along, and a great deal of Intreague used for that Purpose; at first the Duke conceals himself, and it was made criminal to say he was a *Papist*; but afterwards he casts off the Mask and appears more bare-faced, and begins to take wide Steps for introducing what is designed.

The Papists every where have Marks of Favour shewn them, general Licence was granted ^{Popery} by Proclamation in *Ireland*, to all the Papists ^{countenanced by the} there to live in Corporations, and exercise ^{D. of York.} Trades, and enjoy the same Privileges other Subjects ought to do, which was more than the Protestants could claim that were not free of the
Cor-

Corporation: The Kingdom is filled with Priests and Jesuits, &c. Mass is said *openly* in the Queen's Chappel, at *Somerset-House*; and Papists are put into the highest Offices of the Kingdom: And such was the Duke's Power, that he was in Effect King already, King *Charles* leaving him at the Head of his Affairs, whilst he abandoned himself to his Pleasures; so that every Body that would see, might see Popery as well as Slavery, not so properly *stealing* as *marching* in among us in a Sort of *Triumph*.

The Parliament had often complained of the Growth of Popery, and addressed his Majesty to provide against it, which was generally complied with to the Expence of a Proclamation, tho' the Papists were seldom either much hurt or much affrighted with it; but at last being more aroused out of their Security, and seeing the Mischief that was coming upon them, they

Parliament alarmed with Fears of Popery. arm against it as well as they can, and resolve to take all necessary Measures for their Safety; and therefore after several fruitless and ineffectual Attempts to unite the *English* Protestants, they contrive to exclude the Papists from any Share in the Government, which was done by the *Test Act*; by which it was required, 'That all Persons bearing any Office, or Place of Trust or Profit, shall take the Oaths of *Supremacy and Allegiance* in publick and open Court, and shall also receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the Usage of the Church of *England*, upon some Lord's Day immediately after divine Service and Sermon, and deliver a Certificate of having so received the Sacrament under the Hands of the respective Ministers and Church-Wardens, proved by two credible Witnesses upon Oath, and put upon Record in Court.'

'Court:' And that after taking the said Oaths of *Supremacy*, should also make and subscribe this Declaration.

I A. B. do declare, That I believe there is not any Transubstantiation in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, or in the Elements of Bread and Wine, at or after the Consecration thereof, by any Person whatsoever.

Dr. Kennet remarks, which Act and Test therein prescribed, was a great Security to the Protestant Religion; he might have added (which ^{Which is thus, An Act for preventing Dangers that may happen from Popish Recusants.} would have given a little of the Ornament of Impartiality to his History, which some will miss in it), That it is Pity an Act designed purely against the Papists, as appears from the Preamble and Title, should be turned against *Protestant Dissenters*. It is said, that the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, who had a main Hand in this Bill, dealt with Alderman *Love*, a noted Dissenter then in the House of Commons, not to oppose it, being so needful at that Time, to disarm Papists of the Power they had; assuring him, that another Bill should be procured to explain it, so as that it should not touch the Dissenters, but this was afterwards forgot: Upon the passing the Bill, the Duke of *York*, General of the Army, and the Lord Treasurer *Clifford*, as the first Fruits of the Bill, laid down all their Places.

But this was not thought sufficient to stem the Tide that rose so high, and run so violently that it threatned to bear down all legal Securities. The Duke, tho' removed from being General, continued to be more then so, and was like shortly to be all, so that the more considerate Part of the Nation, that had the truest Concern for the Interest of it, both civil and

Bill of Ex-
clusion.

religious, agreed it was absolutely necessary to take some further Measures to shelter them from the Storm they saw approaching, and nothing was looked upon effectual, but to *exclude* the Duke of York from succeeding to the Crown, which accordingly was resolved upon in the House of Commons.

A long Series of Actions (in all which was the Hand of *Joab*) convinced them they could not be safe till this was done. The Army at *Black Heath*, struck Terror into many, and no Question gave Life to the Resolutions taken in Parliament. This Army lay there to be ready against the *Dutch*; ' But it was the general Apprehension, that having no Hope to get the Parliament to set up their Religion by Law, it was ' their Intention to put down Parliaments and reduce the Government to the *French* Model, ' and Religion to their State by a standing Army.' And this Suspicion appeared not unreasonable afterwards when it was found, that fifty seven Commissions were granted in one Month to Popish Recusants, with Warrants to muster without any Regard to Law, neither taking the Oath of Supremacy and Allegiance, nor the Test. These Warrants being counter-signed by Sir *J. W.* Secretary of State. The Commons committed him to the *Tower*, but the King next Day discharged *Coke, 273.* him with a Reprimand to the Commons.

But what most startled the Parliament and the whole Nation, and supported the Zeal with which they appeared against the Duke, was the *Popish Plot*, which being a Matter of great Influence upon the State of the publick Affairs, both then and afterwards, I shall give some Account of it.

The

The King, tho', it may be, true enough to Popish Plot their Interest at Bottom, yet not having Courage to effect it at all Adventures, nor driving so fast as they would have him, was now an Offence and Embarrassment to them; so that they continue to make Way for their better Friend, especially when they saw a Parcel of Whigs in the Parliament were so brisk against him, as to go about to defeat their future Hopes; and besides the King was as like to live as the Duke, and by his Constitution might expect to survive him; the Consequence of which would be the Death of their Cause and Hopes. Whereupon they resolve to hasten his Majesty's Passage into the other World, since he stood so much in their Way whilst in this, not that he wanted (as is supposed) Affection to the Papists, but he wanted a flaming Catholick Zeal, being neither willing to forego or abridge himself of his Ease and Pleasure, on the Account of any Religion, nor willing to run the Risque of his Crown, by pursuing all the Measures they would prescribe.

That there was a *Popish Plot*, was made too evident to be denied by any but those who have a Face to deny any Thing, and whose Interest it was particularly to deny that: The intercepted Letters of *Coleman*, that passed between him and Father *Le Chaise*, the *French King's* Confessor, put it out of Doubt. *Oats*, who had been educated in the Church of *England*, and received Orders in it, but seemingly reconciled to the Church of *Rome*, was the first Discoverer of the Plot. His Information before the King and Council was to this Purpose, 'That there had been a Plot carried on by *Jesuits* and other Catholics against his Majesty's Life, the Protestant Religion, and the Government of this Kingdom, referring for Proof to *Coleman's* Letters,

Letters, where the Evidence was glaring, and too strong to be withstood, tho' he had Time enough to convey away his Book of Entries for the two last Years, which it appears he did from his Servant *Boatman's* Depositions; yet, says *Coke*, the Letters that were found amazed the greater Part of the Council. The Parliament was to meet a few Days after, which we may well think was far from being grateful to some embarked in the Affair, and therefore the King is prevailed with to prorogue them to a further Day, and afterwards to another Day; but when they got together, they presently fell upon the Plot, and came to this Resolution, *nemine contradicente*, 'That upon the Evidence that has already appeared to this House, this House is of Opinion, that there hath been and † still is

† The *Papish Plot* was one continued Thing, and run almost thro' this Reign; when they could not act, they were still contriving; but now was a Time of Execution, when they were to strike Home. Another resolute Attempt to the same Purpose, was made in 66. when the City was fired. The Papists indeed deny their Concern in the Fact, but their Word, I suppose, cannot be thought of any Weight in the Matter; the Fire began Sep. 2. 1666. at one *Farriner's* House, a Baker in *Pudding Lane*, between the Hours of One and Two in the Morning, and continued burning till the 6th of Sep. consuming, according to the Surveyors Account, 373 Acres within the Walls, and above 63 Acres without, 89 Parish Churches, besides Chappels, and above 13000 Houses. When the Parliament met, they appointed a Committee to enquire into the Causes of the late Fire: An Account of the Informations made before the Committee, and their Report thereupon, is to be found in a Pamphlet, called *London Flames Revived*, printed Anno 1689. By which it appears, that the horrid Villany was concerted by the Papists, several of them having spoke and wrote of the Desolation, *that would be at London in Sep. some Months before*, and many of them being caught throwing Fire-Balls into Houses. Whilst the Fire raged, the Duke of York was mighty busy in endeavouring to stop it, of which an Account was sent thro' the Nation in a publick Print, and he was not less busy afterwards in preventing the Enquiry who kindled the Flames, than he then seemed to be in extinguishing them; none were persecuted for the Crime, notwithstanding several were taken in the Fact, except one *Hubert*, who was convicted upon

3. a *damnable bellish Plot*, contrived and carried on by Popish Recusants, for assassinating and murdering the King, subverting the Government, rooting out and destroying the Protestant Religion.' And on the same Day the Lords past the same Vote, as they did with Reference to *Ireland* sometime after, viz. 'That they are fully satisfied that there now is, and for several Years past has been, an horrid and treasonable Plot, contrived and carried on by those of the Popish Religion in *Ireland*, for massaering the *English*, and subverting the Protestant Religion, and the ancient established Government of the Kingdom.' This Resolution was sent down by the *Lords* to the *Commons House*, for their Concurrence, who agree with the Lords; adding further, that the Duke of *York's* being a Papist, and his Expectation of coming to the Crown, hath given the greatest Countenance and Encouragement thereto, as well as to the horrid Popish Plot in the Kingdom of *England*.

The *Duke* and his Party, in the mean Time, do all they can to stifle the Plot: That excellent Magistrate Sir *Edmund Bury Godfrey*, lost his

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Life

his own Confession, that he, with others his Accomplices, set the City on Fire; and being after Conviction carried thro' the Ruins, he pointed to the very Spot where the first House that was fired stood.

The *Commons* resolve to examine *Hubert* who set him on such Work, and who joined with him in it, but, says Mr. *Hawles*, the next Day he was hanged, and so he could tell no further Tales: One Particular was called to Mind at that Time, that in the Beginning of the Year, *Rathbone*, *Sanders*, and six others, were executed for conspiring the Death of the King and Subversion of the Government, in order to which, the City of *London* was to be set on Fire, *Sep. 3.* which, by some *Astrological Scheme*, was pitched upon as a lucky Day for such an Enterprize; but he that was at the Head of this Plot, found Means to slur all the Evidence of it, and preserve his Interest and Power against a more favourable Opportunity of doing his Work.

Remarks on
Fitz. Har-
ris's Trial.

Endea-
vours to
stifle the
Popish Plot

Life for that Part he had in the Discovery of it: He had taken *Oates's* Depositions relating to it, for which they resolve to be revenged on him; and it seems he himself was apprehensive of Danger, and said to one that he believed he should be the first Martyr, which fell out accordingly; for the Manner and Proof of his Murder, I refer to the Narratives printed concerning it. After he had been missing four Days, his Body was found in a Ditch, and in such a Posture, as to make the World believe he murdered himself; his Gloves and Cane being on the Bank near him, and his own Sword run through his Body. The Discovery of the Murder was made by Mr. *Bedlove*, and confirmed by the Confession of *Miles Prance*, tho' trusty Sir *Roger L'Estrange*, often employed in such Work, endeavours to slur the Evidence of his Murder, and murder him over again in his Name and Reputation.

The Commons however receive further Admonition and Excitation from so vile a Fact, and pursue their Resolution with the more Vigour, to preserve the Government, if they can, out of the Hands of the *Duke*; accordingly pass a Vote *November 2. 1680.* that the Prospect of the *Duke's* succeeding gave the greatest Encouragement to the Conspiracies against the King and Protestant Religion; and that if his Majesty should come to any untimely Death, they will revenge it on the Papists; and at the same Time bring in a Bill to disable *James Duke of York* to inherit the Imperial Crowns of *England* and *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereunto belonging; after several Speeches against it by the hereditary divine right Men, it passed the House of Commons, and *November 15. 1680.* was carried up to the House of Lords, by *William Lord Russel*,

Ruffel, attended by most of the House of Commons, where it was thrown out by a Majority of thirty Voices.

It is supposed the King was not so averse to this Bill at first, as afterwards, but came into it, or at least seemed to do so. The favourite Mistress, says *Wellwood*, was prevailed with, from secret Motives and Prospects of her own, to concur with others in perswading him to abandon his Brother; and it seems as the Parliament addressed the King with great Earnestness to pass the Bill, so they offered him a considerable Sum of Money, if he would consent to it; but the King being better bidden by another Court, whose Gold had been long current here, complies with the Motion, and refuses the Bill; tho' after all, it never reached him, the Lords having cut it off, before it was offered to his Majesty.

Dr. *Kennet*, the *Complete Historian*, takes notice, that, of the thirty Voices against the Bill, some Men were pleased to observe *Fourteen were Bishops*. And why might not the Doctor have observed the same too, if he had pleased? He knows that this is true, and a great deal more, and that the Bishops and Clergy were the greatest Sticklers in this Matter. He himself * owns, Pag. 392,

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many

* In another Place, he says the Dissenters were odious, not as Separatists from the Church, but as Enemies to the State, and especially to the Duke's Succession; and that the Churchmen *Complete Hist.* were the more acceptable to the King, as Promoters of Vol. III. p. 402. the Royal Prerogative, and Supporters of the Royal Highness; and in what Strain the Clergy's Addresses at that Time generally ran, few need be informed. The same Historian gives a Sample in a Speech made to the King at *New-Market*, by the *Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge*. Dr. *Gower*, in Name of the University: In which (says he) the most acceptable Words were these, 'We will still believe and maintain that our Kings derive not their Title from the People, but from God; that to him only they are accountable; that it belongs not to Subjects either to create or censure, but to honour and obey their Sovereign, who comes to be so by a fundamental hereditary Right of Succession, which no Religion, no Law, no Fault, or Forfeiture can alter and diminish.'

many of the Clergy fell under Suspicion of being Popishly affected, because they warmly espoused the Interest of the Court in *abhorring Petitions*, in opposing the Association and Exclusion-Bill; and it is known they ran so high in these Points, as not only to charge Rebellion upon all that were for using the necessary, and, as appeared, the only Means of saving the Nation, but to lay them

Duke ca-
ressed in
Scotland,
and recom-
mended
from
thence.

under the heavy Guilt of Damnation. In *Scotland* there was the same Zeal in the Party for the *Duke*, and a great deal of mutual caressing, inso-
much that when the Duke was there, and was about to return into *England*, he thought proper to have *Letters * Testimonials* from the *Scots Bishops*

* *A Copy of the Testimonials from Scotland in Favour of the Duke.*
Edinburgh, March 9. 1682.

May it please your Grace,

HIS Royal Highness having parted from hence on *Monday* last, being called by the King to attend his Majesty at *New-Market*, we should prove very defective in Duty and Gratitude, if, upon this Occasion, we should forget to acknowledge to your Grace, how much this poor Church, and our Order, do owe to his Princely Care and Goodness, that his Majesty and the worthy Bishops of *England* may from you receive the just Account thereof.

Since his Royal Highness's coming to this Kingdom, we find our Case much changed to the better, and our Church and Order, which through the Cunning and Power of their Adversaries, were exposed to extreme Hazard and Contempt, sensibly relieved and rescued; which, next to the watchful Providence of God, that mercifully superintends his Church, we can ascribe to nothing so much, as to his Royal Highness's gracious owning and vigilant Protection of us.

Upon all Occasions, he gives fresh Instances of his eminent Zeal against the most unreasonable Schism, which by renting, threatens the Subversion of our Church and Religion, and concerns himself as a Patron to us in all our publick, and even personal Interests, so that all Men take Notice of his signal Kindness to us, and observe that he looks upon the Enemies of the Church, as Adversaries to the Monarchy itself; nor did we ever propose or offer to his Royal Highness any rational Expedient, which might conduce to the Relief or Security of the Church, which he did not readily embrace and effectuate.

The Peace and Tranquillity of this Kingdom, is the Effect of his prudent and steady Conduct of Affairs, and the Humours of our wicked

Bishops, directed to his Grace the Lord Arch-
 bishop of *Canterbury*, which were immediately
 sent after him; and towards the End of *April*,
 were published by Authority: The Design of
 which was undoubtedly to strengthen the Duke's
 Interest, and enliven the Zeal of his Party a-
 gainst the House of Commons, and others that
 opposed his Succession. And it was upon the
 same Occasion (*viz.* to serve the excellent Pur-
 pose of filling the Throne with a Popish Prince)
 that the *Oxford Decree* was made; in which not *Oxford Decree*
 only passive Obedience, but indefeasible heredi-
 tary Right, has all the Sanction that famous Uni-
 versity could give it, and all such as would fain
 believe, if they might, that they were not born
 Slaves, are laid under their Anathema. I shall
 not presume to make any Reflections upon this
 Decree; but having so good Authority as Dr.
Kennet's, may observe, 'That, at the Revolu-
 'tion, it should have been openly adhered to, or
 'as *openly retracted* and condemned; whereas
 'they contradict it in their apparent Practice,
 'without any Reversal of it, only the printed
 'Copies are taken away from the Halls, and o-
 'ther publick Places, where they had before hung
 'in Triumph.' I am sorry, if it be true, as is said,
 that it is now returned to its Place of Triumph,
 there to dispute Authority with an Act of Parlia-
 ment. But the Jest *on it is* (and it cannot be im-
 pertinent here to remark it) that after this Set
 of Men had preached and voted the Duke into
 the

'wicked Fanaticks are much restrained from dangerous Eruptions, upon
 'their Apprehensions of his Vigilance and Justice; for they dread no-
 'thing so much as to see him upon the Head of his Majesty's Councils,
 'and Forces against them. We hope your Grace will make our dutiful
 'Acknowledgments to his Royal Highness, for all his princely Favours
 'to us; and give him the most firm Assurance of our sincere Endeav-
 'ours to serve him, and of our most fervent Prayers for his temporal
 'and eternal Happiness, as the bounden Duty of, &c.

the Throne, they desert him, and help to pull him down again. His Title they make divine, and his Power irresistible and absolute in spite of the Constitution; and yet afterwards fall upon him with Sword and Pistol. If any ask the Meaning of this strange Conduct, I know no better Answer, that is true, can be given than this; that they were for having him King, whilst they thought him *for their Purpose*, and for complementing him with *excessive Power*, whilst they expected they should be used for them, and against others; but when they saw themselves herein disappointed, and he begins to stretch forth his Hand, and touch them, then farewell the Doctrine of Non-resistance; *they will rather venture Damnation in the next World, than be undone in this!*

The Popish Plot
run down.

In the mean Time, the Contest continued about the Succession, and in that was involved the Fate of *Britain*. The Parliament struck at the Duke, Time after Time; but the King was staunch to his Interest; the Lords espoused him, especially the Bishops, and the Clergy thundered dreadful Anathemas against his phanatick Opposers; so that the Duke had Reason to hope well, and to expect to carry all at length, as he did; only there was one popular Prejudice, which must be removed, viz. *the Popish Plot*, to which Purpose he sets himself to slur the Evidence of it; and, to make sure Work, to turn it upon the Dissenters and Whigs; and in this Service also, a Party of the more violent Clergy were concerned, as is well known, Sir *John Hawles* taking Notice of this (that the Clergy of the Church of *England* had been prevailed with to cry up the Popish as a fanatick Plot) and apologizing for them, imputes it to a Sort of Sympathy between them and some other Folks. 'The *Papists*, says he,

' and

and the Church of England, being in the late Times equally Sufferers by the Fanaticks, they naturally grew to have a Kindness for each other; and both joined in hating the Fanaticks, and therefore pretended at least, that they did not know any Thing of the Plot, but that the Report was given out by the Fanaticks, whilst they themselves were designing something against the Church.

But because some might give their Attendance at Coffehouses, that are not at leisure always to come to Church, Sir Roger is set at Work to ridicule the Plot in his Papers; for which, and other Services, he was thought fit to deserve a Pension, and was kept in constant Pay: So that this Gentleman made it plain enough, there was no Popish Plot, but a dangerous Presbyterian Plot there was, which Coke tells us was proved by leaving Papers of a Plot in the Lodgings of the principal Persons concerned in discovering the Popish Plot; and then searching their Houses, (for they that hide can find) they proceeded against them upon the Evidence of those Papers. One of the first Attempts was made upon Col. Mansel, who, being examined before the Attorney-General Sir William Jones, was acquitted by him, he giving in a most perverse disloyal Report, viz. That Col. Mansel was innocent, and that this was a Design of the Papists to lay the Plot upon the Dissenters, and a further Proof of the Popish Plot: But, to be sure, such Affronts must not go unpunished; for this Sir William is turned out of his Place.

To speak or write against Popery, or so much as mention the Popish Plot, unless it was to exclaim against fanatick Villany in contriving it, was criminal. Sir Roger L'Estrange is made Licenser of the Press, and nothing must pass but what was for the Purpose. The *Weekly Pacquet* of

of *Advice from Rome*; on the *History of Popery*, is forbid by an Order of Court from the Court of *King's-Bench*, and the Author arraigned and sentenced for printing *Illicite*, or without Licence; and that they might rase the Memory of former Things, the *Fifth of November Anniversary* grows out of Request; the popular Rejoicings on that Day suppressed and several in *London* were fined and pilloried, for getting together and rejoicing in the usual Manner, under the Notion of Rioters.

And now little remained to complete the Destruction so long designed. The King grew weary of Parliaments, finding that as soon as one was dismissed and another called, they still pursued the old Game, and went on to hunt the Royal Brother, which so far disgusted his Majesty, that he seemed inclined to have done with such troublesome Assemblies; and we know that there were some, that, to help forward the speedy and utter Ruin of their Country, were ready to compliment the King with their Addresses of Abhorrence, *i. e.* they abhorred petitioning for Parliaments, &c. So that henceforth the Work goes smoothly on, having none to stand in their Way, and give them a Rub; the Dissenters are worried; and, to use the Words of *Dr. Wellwood*, 'Whole Peals of Anathema's were rung out against those Patriots that had stood up for the Liberties of their Country in the preceeding Parliament; it was looked upon as a Crime against the State for any to regret the approaching Fate of his Country. In some Places a new Kind of Funeral Harangues came in Fashion; our Laws, our Liberties, our Parliaments, our native Rights were to be buried; but instead of dropping a Tear over them, full some Panegyricks were made upon the Murderers

'derers, and Curses denounced against those
' that would have retrieved them from Destruction.'

There were indeed, during this State-Tragedy, some bold and brave Men, that durst open their Mouth and speak in Behalf of their sinking Liberties and Religion, particularly the renowned Mr. *Johnson*, who at that Time wrote his *Julian*, with an Account of *Julian's* Life, and a Paralel between Popery and Paganism, in which he sufficiently exposes the absurd Doctrine of passive Obedience; and being answered by Dr. *Hicks*, in his *Jovian*, defends what he wrote, tho' he suppressed it for a Time: But he must answer for his *Julian*, and indeed is treated as a very *Apostate*, being, after a Sort of a Trial, sentenced to pay five hundred Merks, to find Sureties for his good Behaviour for a Year, that he should be committed Prisoner to the *King's-Bench* till the Fine was paid, and his Book be burnt by the Hands of the common Hangman.

One Piece of Work further seemed to ly upon their Hand, and that was to humble the City, who had very saucily stood upon their Privileges in the Choice of their Sheriffs, and to new-model the other Corporations: To which Purpose, they resolve to take away their Charter, whereby the Court not only had the making of a common Hall, but an House of Commons in a great Measure. These Charters were the Things that now stood in the Way of an absolute Government; and it was resolved to break thro' this Barrier, in order to which *Quo Warranto's* *Quo Warranto's* were brought against them, and in Progress of *Quo Warranto's* against Charters. Time, they were either surrendered by the Corporations themselves, or vacated in *Westminster-Hall*, by a Set of Judges picked out for that Purpose.

And

And now in this Extremity of Things, when there was scarce one Plank left to swim to the Shore on, it would seem some Patriots; and zealous Lovers of their Country, that beheld with Concern its gasping, dying Liberties, discourse and consult about Measures to be taken; not to destroy the King, as was falsely pretended, but to preserve him, and rescue the Government out of the Hands of a prevailing Popish Faction, who were preparing in all Haste to ruin the Nation, and divide the Spoil among themselves. The Earl of *Essex* was one of this Number, and, being accused of plotting, was immediately tak-

Russel, Sidney, and other great Patriots were sacrificed.

en up, and committed to the *Tower*, where he was found dead with his Throat cut by a Razor; who did the Work, is not known: One Circumstance was talked of at that Time, that the King and Duke of *York*, who had not been in the *Tower* for fifteen Years, were there that very Day, tho' it may be, it was only to carry the Razor, with which they say the Earl cut his own Throat. The brave Lord *Russel* dies at the same Time, and by the same Hands, not for contriving a Plot against the King, but for prosecuting with so much Zeal those that had been herein guilty.

Algernon Sidney * fell next; part of his Crime was for writing a treasonable Libel, to stir up Re-

* The following Verses, containing the chief Cause for which not only this great Man, but others suffered at that Time, it may be excusable to add them, tho' otherwise mean.

A *Algernon Sidney* fills this Tomb,
An Atheist for disclaiming *Rome*;
A Rebel bold, for striving still
To keep the Laws above the Will:
Crimes damned by Church and Government,
Alas! where must his Ghost be sent?
Of Heaven it cannot but despair,
If holy Pope be Turn-Key there;
And Hell it ne'er must entertain,
For there is all tyrannick Reign.
Where goes it then? Where't ought to go,
Where *Rose* nor Devil have to do.

Rebellion in the Nation, having for that Purpose dispersed it all over his Closet. ' And thus, ' says *Wellwood*, some of the noblest Blood of ' the Nation was offered up Sacrifice to the ' Manes of Popish Martyrs, and made to atone ' for the Bill of Exclusion; Swearing came once ' more into Fashion, and a new Evidence-Office ' was erected at *Whitehall*; but whereas the ' Witnesses of the Popish Plot were brow-beaten ' and discouraged; those of the Protestant Plot ' were highly encouraged, and instead of Judges ' and Juries that might boggle at half Evidence, ' Care was taken to pick out such as would stick ' at nothing to serve a Turn.' And it is said the Lord *Howard*, as he was a forward Evidence against those Gentlemen, so he was obliged to it; the Dutchess of *Portsmouth* having reconciled him to the Court, upon Condition he should go thro' the Drudgery of swearing; and, upon this Encouragement, he soon became, as Sir *John Hawles* calls him, *A thorough-paced Evidence*.

And this was the Issue of the Popish Plot; by which it is plain, it attained its End in a great Measure; for though the King yet lives, his Government dies, the Enemies of the Duke are disgraced and murdered, and he secures his Succession.

Several, besides these that suffer immediately, were appointed to Destruction, and are reckoned with as soon as the Duke found his Way to the Throne: In the mean While the Odium of all this is cast upon the Dissenters, who were not only branded for Rebels and Villains in a Multitude of Addresses presented to the King; but, says the *Complete Historian*, severely arraigned by the King himself, in a solemn Form of Declaration, to all his loving Subjects; which

was

was appointed to be read in all Churches and Chappels within the Kingdom; wherein is inserted a particular Account of the *Rye-House* Plot, and the Names of the Conspirators; and in which Manner they were to accomplish the Death of the King and his Brother; and this being published throughout the Nation, enraged unthinking People against the Dissenters to that Degree, that it is Wonder they did not meet with what *Cain* feared as his Punishment, *that every Body that found them should slay them*. It wrought however pretty well, raised a general Out-cry, and filled the Jails with these black Criminals.

There would not to be sure want of Instruments for persecuting Dissenters, or carrying on any other Work the Government had to do: But the best qualified of all the rest was Sir *G. Jefferies*: This Gentleman was preferred among several others by King *Charles*, when there was special Occasion for such Tools of Lawyers; and never did Man better answer the Design of his Advancement than this same *Jefferies*; neither regarding Law, Reason, or Conscience, when he had the Interest of the Court to promote, and such to crush, as he in his Rage would call Rebels or Fanaticks.

But

* Dr. *Kennet*, taking notice of those Plots, says in the Words of a late Writer, 'That most looked upon the Presbyterian Plot, as a Contrivance to baffle the Popish; many of the Conspirators were executed in King *Charles's* Time; and the Court being resolved to prosecute the rest; the eloquent Pen of Dr. *Sp-----*, Bishop of *R-----*, Vide *Complete* was industriously set to work to varnish over the Flaws of *History of Eng- of Kneeling and other Witnesses Depositions.-----* The *Au-land*, Vol. III. ther adds, 'However, as Affairs were managed, a Romance was as fit to serve the Court as a true History.

But I need say nothing of his Conduct; the Man and his Manners are known, and will be remembered for this Generation at least; only one Instance I shall relate, it not being taken Notice of elsewhere. As he was making his Circuit in the *North*, calling for Vengeance wherever he came, and taking it where he could against the Dissenters, he came to *Newcastle* upon *Tyne* at the Assizes, 1683. and being informed of a Company of young Plotters and Rebels, as they were resolved to make them, sets himself with his usual Zeal to suppress them. The Case, in short, was this.

A Number of young Men in the Town of *The Newcastle* (about twenty) met together once a ^{castle} Week for mutual Assistance and Improvement ^{young Men imprisoned for pray-} in Religion; for which Purpose they spent some Time in Prayer and Conference; having subscribed a Paper containing Rules, for the better ordering such a Society, and the Work to be done in it, taken out of a Book of Mr. *Isaac Ambrose's*: One of the Society, upon what Inducement he best knows, turns Informer, and having a Copy of this dangerous Paper, with the Names of the Subscribers, makes a Discovery, and the whole Matter was laid before Judge *Jefferies* at the Assizes; by which it appeared to his Lordship, that about twenty young Phanaticks met together weekly to pray and talk about Religion, &c. his Lordship, whose Business lay as much with such as these, as with Felons, &c. resolved to make Examples of them. When he was prepared to proceed against them, he ordered the Doors of the Court to be locked up, and kept locked, till such of the young Men as were in Court were secured; and, at the same Time, dispatched the Sheriff with the proper Officers to apprehend the rest; the Doors being still kept closed, which

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made

made no small Noise and Stir in the Town. His Lordship, as his Manner was, began to breathe out Threatning against the Dissenters; and whereas some of the elder of them, with whom his Lordship would have taken an Occasion to have talked, were withdrawn from the Town; he said, *He would take the Cubs, and that would make the old Foxes appear.*

The Offenders (some of whom are found in Court, and others of them brought in by the Sheriff) are presented before his Lordship's Tribunal: Such as knew his Lordship's Character, will easily imagine (and some well remember it) with how much Indignation and Contempt he would look down upon these young Men. One of them, Mr. *Thomas Werner*, who had but a mean Aspect at best, (and the Work he was taken from made him appear at that Time meaner than ordinary) his Lordship was pleased to single out, no Question to triumph over his Ignorance, and thereby expose all the rest. Can you read, Sirrah, says he? Yes, my Lord, answers Mr. *Werner*; reach him the Book, says the Judge; the Clerk reaches him his *Latin Testament*; the young Man begins to read, *Matth. vii. 1, 2.* (it being the first Place his Eye light upon, without any Design in him, as he affirmed afterwards) *Ne judicate, ne judicemini, &c.* Construe it, Sirrah, says the Judge; which he did: *Judge not, lest ye be judged; for with what Judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged:* Upon which it is said, his Lordship was a little struck, and sat in a Pause for some while (and he had Occasion, methinks, to pause more upon it in the *Tower* a few Years after.)

The Issue of the Matter, in short, was this, That the young Men, tho' never tried, were sent to Jail, where they lay above a Year) *i. e.* from the Assizes in 1683. till the first Assizes after the

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the Death of King *Charles*) when they were called upon and set at Liberty, with this Reprimand by the Judge, *Go, and sin no more, lest a worse Thing come unto you*; adding, That the King's coming to the Throne had saved all their Lives.

How they came to escape the Trial, which the Judge said he would bring them to, is not very certain; it is said, the Reason was, Want of Time: However, it was a good Providence to the young Men, for had he proceeded against them, it had been much if they had come off with their Lives. The Crime charged upon them was no less than High Treason, and a Jury was provided that would have answered his Lordship's Expectations, and followed his Directions; one of the Jury being asked what they intended to do with the young Men; answered, There remained nothing for them (the Jury) to do, but to bring them in guilty, for that a Paper produced in Court, and acknowledged by themselves to be subscribed by them, was by the Lord Chief Justice declared to be High Treason; so that if they had been tried, it had been for High Treason; and it is known his Lordship seldom saw Cause to acquit any such Traitors as these.

Nor were the Dissenters only run down, tho' they were marked for peculiar Infamy and Hardships; all the rest of the Nation, besides Papists and Tories, were branded as Fanaticks, and treated accordingly; for any to oppose the Tyranny of the Times, favour the Bill of Exclusion, speak against the Duke, or appear in the Discovery of the Popish Plot, was almost the same Thing, as formerly wearing a Faggot to the Lollards. In *Barnardiston, Dutton Colt, &c.* this Cause Multitudes suffered; some Fines and Imprisonments, and others Death. Sir *Samuel* unreasonably fined. *Barnardiston* was fined Ten thousand Pound, bly fined.

Alderman *Wright* imprisoned, *Dutton Colt* fined an hundred thousand Pounds, Sir *Thomas Armstrong* executed at *Tyburn*; Mr. *Roswell*, a dissenting Minister, was arraigned for High Treason and found guilty; indeed the last Year of the King's Life was almost wholly employed in such Work, the worthy grand Jury of *Westminster* deserves to be remembred for a notable Presentment exactly to the Gust of the Times, viz. That all those that were for the Bill of Exclusion should be prosecuted, and all Conventicles, &c.

And this was the bleeding State of the Nation under King *Charles II.* This was the Improvement he made of all his Sufferings, and the Experience he sometimes, at his first coming to the Crown, talked of as learned thereby. What his Religion really was, whether *Deist*, *Papist*, or *nothing*, is not to our Purpose to enquire; but it is certain his Reign was Popish enough; and some have thought he came under Engagements when Abroad, to favour the Catholick Cause, if ever he was restored. It is believed, says my Lord *Clarendon*, that in the *Pyrenean Treaty*, something was agreed, viz. by King *Charles* (with the Crowns of *France* and *Spain*) to the Prejudice of the Protestant Interest; which the complete History supposes to be no less than to establish Popery, or at least tolerate it, setting an Example in his own Person; when he came to die he received *extreme Unction* from *Huddleston* the Priest; whether he desired it, I cannot say; and we know after his Death, his Brother endeavoured to convince the Nation of his being a Papist, by publishing two Papers taken out of the strong Box, implying as much.

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It seems, a little before his Death, he began *K. Charles* to awake out of his Security, became thoughtful ^{thinks of} about retrieving Things, if possible : It is said, ^{changing} discoursing of the desperate Condition of his ^{his Mea-} Affairs, he complained how much he had been ^{sures.} abused, and took Occasion to say, that if he lived a Month longer, he would find a Way to make himself easy the rest of his Life. This he spoke with some Warmth ; and it is supposed his Design was to send the Duke of *York* Abroad, call Home * *Monmouth*, call a new Parliament, and pursue quite different Measures from what he had done.

But these Resolutions came too late ; the Duke ^{He hast-} of *York* and his Creatures presently got Know- ^{ned into a-} ledge of the King's Discourse, and thought it high ^{nother} Time to bestir themselves to prevent the Mis- ^{World.} chief and Disappointment that threatned them, and therefore forthwith prepare the King for the *last Anointing* ; so that, on the 6th of *February* 1684. in the Midst of his usual Health, he makes his Exit ; and leaves the Throne to his impatient Brother ; and the Nation under Plague of a
U 3 Popish

* *Monmouth* was now in *Holland*, whither the Duke of *York*'s Displeasure had forced him. The King still followed him with Marks of that warm Affection that he always bore towards him, though often dissembled ; he furnished him with Money, sent him kind Messages, wrote to him with his own Hand, and was now resolved to bring him to Court. This the Duke of *Monmouth* himself takes Notice of in his Journal, *January* 5th, says he, I received a Letter from L----- marked by twenty nine, (i. e. the King) that in *February*, I should certainly have Leave to return. *February* 3. I had a Letter from L----- that my Business was almost done, but must be so sudden, as not to leave Room for thirty nine's, (i. e. the Duke of *York*'s) Party to counter-plot ; in the mean Time, the Duke of *York* was to be sent away, which it was supposed the King had intimated to him ; so that there was like to be a speedy Revolution, at Court, a Change of Councils and Counsellors, which the Duke and his Creatures to be sure would not easily bear ; and it is very probable, the new Project was all the Distemper King *Charles* had in his Head, and the real Apoplexy of which he died.

Popish Prince, as a Punishment of their own Choice and Folly.

The Reader needs not be surprized when I tell him, that Plotting against the Protestant Religion, and *British* Liberties, was now very much at an End. The Thing to be done in this, was to execute Plots in former Reigns, and accomplish what they had been so long preparing. King *James*, immediately after the Death of his Brother, the next Lord's Day, went openly to Mass; thereby proclaiming to all the World what it was a Crime to whisper a little before. Indeed some, even of the Papists, thought this not over politick, it was however fair Warning to the Protestants what they must expect.

K. James goes openly to Mass, first Lord's Day after his Accession.

But tho' King *James* was willing thus to own himself a Papist, and pass for such among his Subjects; he endeavours so far to impose upon them, as to make them believe he would take care of the Protestant Religion, a Thing impossible, and inconsistent with what he professed; for nothing is more certain, than that every Catholick Prince, is bound by all that is sacred, even upon Penalty of Damnation, to destroy Hereticks, and root out Heresy, out of his Dominions: An Omission of what the Church has made Duty herein, will bring a Prince under the Anathema of the *Fourth Lateran Council*, and the Council of *Constance*: It has ruined many a one in this World, and they say, will damn him in the next. All this, to be sure, King *James* knew well enough; the Jesuits, the constant Directors of his Conscience, would not suffer him to be ignorant of it, and the Event shows he was true to the Principles of Religion he had espoused, and that he acted according to the Resolution, he is said to have taken, *viz. either to convert England to Popery or die a Martyr.*

Not-

Notwithstanding he thought fit to conceal his real Intentions (I may call them solemn Obligations) to extirpate Heresy for a Time, and therefore the Day King *Charles* died, he meets the Council, and makes the following Declaration.

My Lords,

BEfore I enter upon any Business, I think fit ^{K. James} to say something to you: Since it has pleased Almighty God to place me in this Station, and ^{he will} I am now to succeed so good and gracious a King, ^{maintain} as well as so very kind a Brother; I think it fit ^{the Prote-} to declare to you, That I will endeavour to follow ^{stant Reli-} his Example, and most especially in that of his great Clemency and Tenderness to his People. I have been reported to be a Man for arbitrary Power, but that is not the only Story that has been made of Me; and I shall make it my Endeavour to preserve this Government, both in Church and State, as it is now by Law established, I know the Principles of the Church of England are for Monarchy, and the Members of it have shewn themselves good and loyal Subjects; therefore, I shall always take Care to defend and support it. I know too, that the Laws of England are sufficient to make the King as great a Monarch as I can wish: And as I shall never depart from the just Rights and Prerogative of the Crown, so I shall never invade any Man's Property. I have often heretofore ventured my Life in Defence of this Nation, and I shall still go as far as any Man in preserving it, in all its just Rights and Liberties,

These good Works, designed to blind the Eyes of a credulous People, and continue their Delusion upon them, were repeted to his Parliament in May following, when he tells them

he chose to give them this Assurance concerning the Care he would take of Religion and Property, in the Words he used when he first came to the Crown, the better to evidence to you, says he, that I spoke them not by Chance, and consequently you may firmly rely upon a Promise so solemnly made. But who could firmly rely upon the Promise, that knows it is lawful to make any Promises to *Hereticks on Purpose to deceive them*; and that it is not only lawful, but Duty, to break those solemn Promises when made; nay, that it is a damnable Sin not to do it? And yet, unhappy Nation! How were all Sorts of People cajolled and cheated with Words of Vanity.

In another Speech, a few Days after, he goes further, and tells them; 'He had a true *English* Heart, as jealous of the Honour of the Nation, as theirs could be; and that he pleased himself with the Hopes that, with the Blessing of God, and the Parliament's Assistance, he might carry the Reputation of it higher in the World than ever it had been in the Time of his Ancestors.' And now the Work is done, all Hearts are gained, and the whole Nation almost falls at his Feet: Nay, it seems, the *French* Court was struck with this unexpected Language, insomuch, that a great Minister there, presently writes to their Ambassador in *England*, signifying to him, that the King's Speech afforded sufficient Matter of Thought with them, being in a Strain that looked quite contrary to what they expected: Adding, 'If he and his Parliament come to a cordial Trust one of another, it may probably change all the Measures we have been so long concerting, for the Glory of our Monarch, and the establishing the Catholick Religion.' It seems they suspected the King would begin to consult his

his own Safety and Honour, and endeavour to oblige a People, that were many of them so justly jealous of him: But they were afraid, where no Fear was, King *James* had thoroughly imbibed the *Jesuits* Principles, and gave abundant Proof he understood the infamous Maxim his Grandfather used to repete, and indeed practise as much as any Man in the World, *Qui nescit dissimulare, nescit regnare*, he is not fit for a King, that cannot dissemble.

But let us a little enquire into this Matter; see how King *James* performed in the Particulars mentioned. We heard what he promised, viz. to govern with great Clemency and Tenderness to his People, to preserve the Government both in Church and State, and to invade no Man's Property; and how well he did this, let the Transactions of his whole Reign witness, let many Thousands of the present Age tell, and let faithful Annals tell it to Posterity, *as a Caution how they ever any more trust the Word and Promise of a Popish King.*

Monmouth's Rebellion (who was King *Charles*-*Mon-*
les's natural Son by Mrs. *Walter*, unless, as *ma-*^{*mouth's*}
 ny thought, he was married to her, and a very ^{Imprecati-}
 great Favourite of that Prince, gave King *James* ^{on and Fall}
 one of the first Opportunities of shewing his ^{with the}
 Mercy. This Gentleman after King *Charles's* ^{Sufferings}
 Death, expecting no Favour at the *English* Court, ^{of his Ad-}
 continues Abroad, and retiring from the World, ^{herents.}
 betakes himself to a more studious Course of Life
 than formerly, but was prevailed with by the
 earnest Sollicitation and Entreaty of some warm
 and zealous Protestants that were lothe to stand
 by and see their Country sink, to undertake its
 Rescue, which he did (very unseasonably to be
 sure) and as is known, miscarried and perished
 in the Attempt.

Now

Now, call this Rebellion, or any Thing else; the Methods of Prosecution King *James* took, were such as very much lessened the Character of his *Clemency*; his admitting *Monmouth* into his Presence, when he was resolved to sacrifice him, looked like triumphing over his Misery. This Piece of Conduct, says *Wellwood*, was an Exception against a general Rule, inviolably observed among *Kings* never to allow a Criminal under Sentence of Death the Sight of his Princes's Face, without a Design to pardon him; but it was done, its thought, to gratify the Queen's Malice, and give her an Opportunity to insult him, which she did unmercifully. The unhappy Man was immediately hurried from his Majesty's Presence to the Tower, and two Days after to the Scaffold; where, a little before his Execution, he delivered a Paper declaring, he died in the Faith of this, *That God would work a Deliverance for his People*, and then will be discovered, says he, the great horrid and scarce to be paralleled Villanies our Enemies have been guilty of; adding, that he died a Martyr for the People, and with the like Perswasion of Deliverance coming, many others died that suffered with him in the same Cause. Captain *Ansley* was not the only Person that spoke to this Effect, viz. 'That he did not repent of what he had done; adding, tho' it hath pleased the wise God for Reasons best known to himself, now to blast our Designs, yet he will deliver his People by Ways we think not of.'

History of K. William, they proceed against the Accomplices, 'And Vol. I. p. 168. 'tho' wise and good Princes (to use the Words of an ingenious Writer) content themselves on such Occasions with punishing the Ring-leaders and

' and some few Adherents, now by a Barbarity
 ' not to be paralleled in the Reigns of *Nero*, *Ca-*
 ' *ligula*, and the most celebrated Tyrants, not
 ' only those who had been actually in Arms with
 ' the Duke of *Monmouth*, but even those who
 ' had *any way assisted*, or so much as harboured
 ' them (whether they could help it or not) were
 ' equally involved in the Crime of his Insurrec-
 ' tion. Posterity will hardly believe the Cruel-
 ' ties committed by the Lord Chief Justice *Jeff-*
 ' *eries*, who with four other Judges his Assist-
 ' ants, and a Body of Troops commanded by
 ' *Kirk*, was sent into the West of *England* with
 ' a special Commission to try the poor Wretches.

How they executed their Commission there,
 is related by many Histories, more particularly
 than I can pretend to do here. It is said, that
 this infamous Judge (*Jefferies*) condemned above
 five hundred Persons in a few Towns of the *West*,
 whereof 229 were executed; some found the Be-
 nefit, I cannot say of the King's Mercy, but the
 Judges Avarice, who was ready enough to grant
 a Pardon to such as could pay well for it; and
 it seems Pardons were sold *by him* at all Sorts of
 Prices, from 10*l.* to 14000 Guineas, which last
 Sum this *Judge of Iniquity* did not scruple to
 take from Mr. *Sp————s*, and with which he
 bought an Estate, that may be justly called *the*
Field of Blood. When he came to *Dorchester*, he
 contrived a notable Stratagem to dispatch thirty
 Prisoners that were accused of assisting the Duke
 of *Monmouth*; he told them whoever pleaded
 not guilty, and were found otherwise, should
 have little Time to live, and if any expected
 Favour they must plead guilty; by which
 Means many were decoyed, and drawn to plead
 guilty

Guilty, whom he condemned out of their own Mouth.

Some Circumstances of this brutish Man's Proceedings, are peculiar; an extreme old Woman, *Mrs. Lisle*, was tried for concealing *Mr. Hicks*, a Nonconformist Minister (in no Proclamation) and one *Mr. Nelthrop*, a Stranger to her; and tho' the Jury brought her in three Times not guilty, the Judge hector'd them out of their Consciences, and the poor Gentlewoman out of her Life; so at last they were forced to change their Verdict, and make her guilty of High Treason, for which she was beheaded. The *Taunton Virgins* that only flourished Colours for *Monmouth*, were forced to buy their Pardons, at fifty, forty, thirty Pounds, &c. a Piece. Some it is said, suffered for carrying in their Waggon's the Duke's Baggage, tho' constrained to it. A Constable was hanged for executing *Monmouth's* Warrant, which he was commanded to do. And another poor Man for selling three Pennyworth of Hay for his Horse.

Besides the Capital Punishments, several were condemned to be whipped, of which Number was *Mr. John Tutchin*. It seems he escaped the Fate he expected (hanging) by changing his Name; which when *Jefferies* understood, he caused him to be brought before him again, after he had dismissed and acquitted him; and having railed at him, as his Manner was, he sentenced him to remain in Prison seven Years, and once every Year to be whipped thro' all the Towns in *Dorsetshire*: One present, signified to his Lordship, that there were a great many Towns in the County, and that the Sentence would amount to a Whipping about once a Fortnight; adding, and he is a very young Man. *Ay, says Jefferies, he is a young Man, but he is an old Rogue*, and all the

the Interest in *England* shall not reverse the Sentence I have past upon him; upon which Mr. *Tutchin* petitions the King to grant him the Favour to be hanged with the rest of his Fellow-Prisoners.

And these were some of the Triumphs of that bloody Man: Indeed King *James's* Friends, to take off from him the Infamy of such Proceedings, pretended that he showed his Dislike of them, but I know not which Way, unless by making *Jefferies*, the Author of them, Lord High Chancellor of *England*, upon his Return, and that in Consideration, as it was expressed, of the many eminent and faithful Services he had rendered the Crown, as well in the late King's Time, as since his Majesty's Accession.

I shall only take Notice, that tho' *Jefferies* gloried in what he had done, yet Colonel *Kirk* put in for Part of the Honour of this Service: One Circumstance may serve for a Taste of the Man. Upon the Day appointed for the Execution of some of his Prisoners, he invites the Officers to Dinner, and for their Entertainment, orders ten of the Prisoners to be turned off the Ladder, with an Health to the King, ten in an Health to the Queen, and ten in an Health to *Jefferies*; and when the Inhumanity of this, and other of his Executions, were complained of, he excused himself, and said, he did nothing but by express Order from the King and his General.

This Work being dispatched, King *James* is at Leisure to reckon with some of his old Friends, such as had stood in his Way, and disoblged him in the Matter of the Popish Plot, &c. in the former Reign. He begins with *Titus Oates*, who was tried for a double Perjury in the Evidence he had given about the Plot, and received the following Sentence.

That

Oats, Dan-
gerfield,
Johnson,
&c. Suf-
ferings.

That he be divested of his canonical Robes for ever: That on Tuesday he stand in the Pillory before the Royal Exchange: That on Wednesday he be whipped from Aldgate to Newgate by the Common Hangman; and on Friday following from Newgate to Tyburn: That he stand in the Pillory five Times (on the Days mentioned) every Year: That he pay a Fine of a thousand Merks for each Perjury, and remain in Prison during Life.

The Sentence was punctually put in Execution, on *Wednesday* he was whipped, or rather staved, the Hangman being feed to do his Work thoroughly, and on *Friday* the dreadful Gashes made in his Back two Days before were opened by the second Whipping; which, tho' it must have been almost intolerable, was thought to be a Means of saving his Life. On *June 28, 1685*, the same Year, *Dangerfield* was sentenced for his Narrative that he published; by which he made it appear, 'That the *Presbyterian Plot* 'was nothing but a Contrivance of the Papists 'to conceal their own Plot against the King and 'Government, and to throw it upon the Presby- 'terians: For this he was fined five hundred Pounds, whipped from *Newgate* to *Tyburn*, and in his Return from *Tyburn*, was run into the Eye by a Papist, with a Tuck at the End of a Cane, of which he died. Sometime after *Miles Prance* was sentenced and punished, fined and whipped as perjured in the Evidence he brought about *Sir Edmundbury Godfrey*: Alderman *Cornish* was condemned for High Treason, for having engaged to assist *Monmouth*, &c. But, says one justly, 'The true Reason of this Prosecuti- 'on was, that Mr. *Cornish*, when Sheriff of *Lon- 'don*, had been very active against the Popish 'Con-

‘ Conspirators, so that now his Blood must expiate his Zeal for the Protestant Religion.

Mr. *Johnson*, that we mentioned before, and left suffering, is now called over the Coals again, and has his Back ploughed by the King's Order; after he had been degraded by the Bishop of *Durham* and others of the ecclesiastical Commissioners, his great Offence was the Zeal and Boldness he had shown in Defence of the Protestant Religion, and particularly his Address to the *English* Protestants in King *James's* Army; for this he is sentenced to stand three Times in the Pillory, to pay a Fine of five hundred Merks, and to be whipped from *Newgate* to *Tyburn*, which was executed with much Severity. It is said a mercenary Priest offered to beg off the latter Part of the Sentence (the Whipping) for two hundred Pounds but could not prevail with the King, who answered, *Since Mr. Johnson has the Spirit of Martyrdom, it was fit he should suffer.*

It would be too large to relate all the Passages of this Kind, what has been said may serve for a Sample, and therefore shall close the Account with the Case of Mr. *Baxter*: He was committed by *Jefferies* Warrant, for his Paraphrase on the New Testament, which was called a scandalous and seditious Book against the Government. May 18. he was brought to his Trial, but being very much indisposed, he moved by his Counsel for further Time, but the Judge cries out in a Passion, I will not give him a Minute's Time to save his Life: We have had to deal with other Sort of Persons, but now we have a Saint to deal with. I know how to deal with Saints as well as Sinners. Yonder (says he) stands *Oates* in the Pillory, and he says he suffers for Truth, and so says *Baxter*, but if *Baxter* did
but

Mr. *Baxter's* Trial
for Notes
on the
New Testament.

but stand on the other Side of the Pillory with him, I would say two of the greatest Rogues and Rascals in the Kingdom stood there. The Passages accused were his Paraphrase on *Matth. v. 19. Mark iii. 6. Mark ix. 39. Mark xi. 30. &c.* The main Charge was, That he in these Passages reflected on the Prelates of the Church of *England*, and so was guilty of Sedition. His Council were not suffered to proceed in the Defence of their Client, but were brow-beaten and hector'd by the Judge in a Manner that suited *Billingsgate*, much better than the Tribunal of Justice. Mr. *Baxter*, beginning to speak for himself, says *Jefferies* to him, *Richard, Richard!* Dost thou think we will hear thee poison the Court? *And, Richard, thou art an old Fellow, an old Knave;* thou hast written Books enough to fill a Cart, every one as full of Sedition (I may say Treason) as an Egg's full of Meat, hadst thou been whipped out of thy Writing-Trade forty Years ago, it had been happy. I know thou hast a mighty Party, and I see a great many of thy Brotherhood in Corners, to see what will become of their *mighty Don*, but by the Grace of Almighty God I will crush them all.

After this strange Insult, another of Mr. *Baxter's* Council (Mr. *Atkinson*) begins to speak, and to clear Mr. *Baxter*, would have read some Passages of the Book, but *Jefferies* cried out, *You shall not draw me into a Conventicle with your Annotations, nor your snivelling Parson neither.* So that when neither he himself, nor the Lawyers could be heard, but were all silenced by Noise and Fury, the Judge proceeds to sum up the Matter to the Jury. 'It is notoriously known, says he, there has been a Design to ruin the King and Nation, the old Game has been renewed, and this has been the main In-

‘Incendiary.’ He is as modest now as can be; but the Time was, when no Man so ready at, *Bind your Kings in Chains, and your Nobles in Fetters of Iron; and, To your Tents, O Israel!* Gentlemen, for God’s Sake, do not let us be gulled twice in an Age. When he had done his Harangue, Mr. *Baxter* presumes to say, Does your Lordship think any Jury will pretend to pass a Verdict on me upon *such* a Trial? I will warrant you, Mr. *Baxter*, says he, do not trouble your Head about that: The Jury immediately laid their Heads together at the Bar, and brought him in guilty. This was *May* 30. and on the 29th of *June* following. Judgment was given against him that he should pay a Fine of five hundred Merks, ly in Prison till it was paid, and be bound to his good Behaviour seven Years. And thus we have seen how the first Part of King *James’s* Promise was made good: *Such was his Clemency! This the Mercy of his Government!*

I am now to consider him in another Respect, as governing according to *Law, preserving Liberty and Religion*, for this he had promised and swore to at his Coronation; but certainly he that has either read or heard the Passages of his Reign, must conclude he had a bad Conscience, or a bad Memory; and that he either never designed what he promised, or soon forgot himself: It is needless to produce Particulars for the Proof of this to *Englishmen*, witness his whole Reign; however, I shall touch upon a few Things.

It was looked upon a little ominous, that im-K. *James* immediately after his Declaration in Council, where-sets up his in he tells them he would invade no Man’s Pro-dispensing perty, he should put forth a Proclamation for le-Power. vying and continuing that Part of the Customs that had been granted to King *Charles* only for Life. This was perfectly needless, a Parliament being

being soon to meet, who, no Question, would have granted that by Law which he seized without, and many took Umbrage at it, apprehending it was done on Purpose to introduce that *Form of absolute Government he resolved to set up*. The better to countenance this, and make it the more effectual, an Address was procured from the *Middle Temple*, presented by Sir *Humphry Macworth*, wherein they own his Majesty's Care of the Government *in preserving the Customs*; that his Majesty's *high Prerogative* is the *greatest Security* of the Liberty and Property of the Subject.

Novemb.
9. 1686.

But this was but playing at small Games, and touching with the little Finger, it was higher Things the King aimed at, and therefore when he had got thro' the Trouble *Monmouth's* Insurrection gave him, he opens his Mind more fully to the next Parliament, and declares both for a *standing Army*, and for *intrusting Papists with Commissions* in it. He tells them the Concern he had for the Peace and Quiet of his Subjects, as well as for the Safety of his Government, made him think it necessary to increase the Number of his Army to the Proportion he had done; adding, (which was the main Point) ' Let none take Offence that there are some Officers in the Army not qualified according to the late Tests for their Employments. The Gentlemen, I must tell you, are well known to me, and having formerly served me on many Occasions, and always approved the Loyalty of their Principles by their Practices, I think them now fit to be employed under me; and will deal plainly with you, that after having had the Benefit of their Services at such a Time of Need and Danger, I will neither expose them to Disgrace, nor my self to the Want of them,

if

‘ if there shall be another Rebellion to make
 ‘ them necessary to me.’ So that now the King
 spoke out, declaring for a standing Army in Time
 of Peace, and without Consent of Parliament, and
at once dispensing with all the Oaths and Tests
 the Law had set as a *Bulwark against Popery.*

The House of Commons were justly alarmed at this, and therefore after many Debates, represented to his Majesty, that these Officers *could not by Law* be capable of their Employments, nor could the Incapacities they were under be removed but by Act of Parliament, but that out of the great Reverence and Duty they owed to his Majesty, they were preparing a Bill to indemnify them from the Penalties they had incurred, and it is said the Commons were willing to capacitate by an Act of Parliament such a Number of Roman Catholick Officers as his Majesty should give a List of: But this did not answer the King’s Purpose, and therefore, after he had stormed at the Disappointment, he put an End to their Debates, by proroguing and then dissolving them.

Things not succeeding as was hoped in *England*, his Majesty turned himself to his Friends in *Scotland*, where he expected a more entire Compliance, having found the first Parliament there, which sat down *May 23. 1685. so much after his own Heart.* The first Act they passed, was called an Act for the Security of the Protestant Religion, but (says Dr. Kennet truly) they meant for the Extirpation of the Presbyterians. The next Act was for settling the Excise of Inland and Foreign Commodities upon his Majesty and Heirs for ever; and in the Preamble of this Act they declare, ‘ That they abhor all Principles which are derogatory to the King’s sacred, supreme and absolute Power and Authority, which none, whether private Persons,

The House of Commons against Popish Officers, contrary to Law.

The Scots assert the King’s absolute Power.

Hist. of K.
William,
Vol. I,
pag. 186.

‘ or collegiate Bodies, can participate of any
‘ Manner of Way, but in Dependance on him;
‘ and therefore they take this Occasion to renew
‘ their hearty and sincere Offer of their Lives
‘ and Fortunes, to assist, and defend and main-
‘ tain his Rights and Prerogatives against all
‘ Mortals.’ The 8th of *May*, the same Parlia-
ment passed two other Acts, the first to forbid
Preaching, or resorting to House or Field-Con-
venticles, under Pain of Death, &c. the other
to make it High-Treason to give or take the Na-
tional Covenant, as explained 1638, or write in
the Defence of it: And the better to tie up that
Nation to a *despotick Yoke*, they passed another
Act on the 24th of the said Month, ordaining all
the Subjects of that Kingdom, whensoever re-
quired, to assert the *Royal Prerogatives*, and
swear to defend the King and his Successors in
the Exercise of their *absolute Power*, under the
Pain of Banishment.

The King presuming, from these Advances,
(says an ingenious Writer) the *Scots* would easily
be fashioned to his Pleasure, he recommends to
them his innocent *Roman* Catholick Subjects, who,
as they had given good Experience of their true
Loyalty and peaceable Behaviour, so he would
have them have the Protection of his Laws, with-
out lying under Obligations their Religion could
not admit of. But, tho’ many were for obliging
his Majesty in this, it could not be carried with-
out warm Debates, and strong Objections on the
other Side; in the Midst of which his Majesty
sends an Express to the Earl of *Murray*, to pro-
rogate or dissolve the Parliament: However, the
February following, 1686. he does the Work
himself in a Way more agreeable to him, puts
forth his Proclamation for Liberty of Conscience,
repealing the Laws made against the Papists;
and

and it seems the Lords of the Council were so entirely devoted to the Court, as to receive this illegal Proclamation, contrived to ruin the Protestant Interest with Applause, telling his Majesty, ' His Orders were exactly obeyed, and that ' his Royal Proclamation was printed and published, by which his Majesty had given a further Proof of his Favour and Goodness to all ' his Subjects; adding, that they conceive such ' of his Subjects (meaning the Papists) as shall be ' employed by his Majesty in Offices of Trust, ' civil or military, are sufficiently secured by his ' Authority and Commission for exercising the ' same.' This was exactly to the King's Gust; but what then signify Acts of Parliament?

But it was in *Ireland* that King *James's* Designs of enslaving his People, and setting up Popery, took most: The King begun there as soon as he came to the Throne, and pursued his Measures so vigorously, that the Protestant Interest in a few Years was brought to the last Gasps; Dr. *Kennet* says the Prospect of this broke the Heart of the Duke of *Ormond*, who was Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, but recalled within less than two Months after King *James's* Accession. It would require a Volume, to relate but Part of the illegal, arbitrary, cruel and inhuman Methods, used under the Administration of *Tyrconnel* to suppress the Protestants, and set up Popery in that Kingdom; and it is excellently well done already in *Bishop King's State of Ireland*, whether I refer. I shall only transcribe a few Passages out of him, to give the Reader a more comprehensive Idea of the Miseries of those Times; and I shall first take Notice what Sort of Creatures they were King *James* advanced and employed as his Tools in all his foul Work.

Tyrconnel's
Methods
to suppress
the Protestant
Religion and
Liberty in
Ireland.

‘ In *Ireland*, says my Author, before it was
 ‘ conquered by the *English*, the Heads of Septs
 ‘ were absolute over their Tenants, their Wills
 ‘ passed for Laws, and all their Proceedings were
 ‘ merely arbitrary and despotick, whatever the
 ‘ Landlord had Occasion for, he sent to his Te-
 ‘ nant’s House, and caused it to be brought him,
 ‘ without Consideration or Allowance; or, if he
 ‘ pleased, he went to the Tenant’s House with
 ‘ his Retinue, and there stayed as long as he
 ‘ thought fit, eating and drinking, and using e-
 ‘ very Thing the Tenant had as his own: This
 ‘ Practice was called *Coshering*, and several Laws
 ‘ have been made against it. But many of the
 ‘ old Landlords lost their Estates by Outlawries
 ‘ and Attainders, for their Rebellion in the Year
 ‘ 1641. and for murdering the Protestants at that
 ‘ Time; many of them had sold their Estates
 ‘ and some had mortgaged them for more than
 ‘ their Value two or three Times to several Per-
 ‘ sons, a Practice very common in *Ireland*. But
 ‘ it is observable, that it is the Humour of this
 ‘ People to count an Estate still their own, tho’
 ‘ they have sold it on a most valuable Considera-
 ‘ tion, or have been turned out of it by the most
 ‘ regular Proceedings of Justice, so that they
 ‘ reckon every Estate theirs that either they or
 ‘ their Ancestors had at any Time in their Pos-
 ‘ session, no Matter how many Years ago; and
 ‘ by their pretended Title and Gentility, they
 ‘ have such an Influence upon the poor Tenants,
 ‘ of their own Nation and Religion, who live on
 ‘ those Lands, that these Tenants look on them
 ‘ still, tho’ out of Possession of their Estates, as a
 ‘ Kind of Landlords, maintain them after a Fa-
 ‘ shion in Idleness, and entertain them in the
 ‘ *coshering Manner*. These Vagabonds reckon-
 ‘ ed themselves great Gentlemen, and that it
 would

' would be a great Disparagement to them to be-
 ' take themselves to any Calling, Trade, or Way
 ' of Industry, and therefore either supported
 ' themselves by stealing and *torying*, or oppres-
 ' sing the poor Farmers, and exacting some Kind
 ' of Maintenance, either from their Clans and
 ' Septs, or from those that lived on the Estates
 ' to which they pretended; and these pretended
 ' Gentlemen, together with the numerous *cof-*
 ' *bering* Popish Clergy, that lived much after the
 ' same Manner, were the two greatest Grievan-
 ' ces of the Kingdom, and more especially hin-
 ' dred its Settlement and Happiness: The Laws
 ' of *England* were intolerable to them both, nor
 ' could they submit under them.'

' As to the Popish Landlords, who yet retain-
 ' ed their Estates, it put them out of all Patience
 ' to find, that the *Bodough*, their Tenant (for so
 ' they call the meaner Sort of People) should
 ' have equal Justice against them, as well as a-
 ' gainst their *Fellow Churl*. That the Landlord
 ' should be called to an Account for killing or
 ' robbing his Tenant, or ravishing his Daughter,
 ' seemed to them an *unreasonable Hardship*. It
 ' was unsufferable to Men that had been used to
 ' no Law but their own Will, to be levelled with
 ' the meanest in the Administration of Justice;
 ' and every Time they were crossed by a Tenant
 ' that would not patiently bear their Impositions,
 ' they cursed in their Hearts the Laws of *England*,
 ' and called to Mind the glorious Days of their
 ' Ancestors, who with a Word of their Mouths
 ' could hang or ruin which of their Dependants
 ' they pleased, and had in themselves the Power
 ' of Peace or War.'

' Now these very Men were the Officers King
 ' *James* employed and trusted above all others,
 ' he espoused their Interest from the Time he

' had Thoughts of the Crown, they were his
 ' Favourites and Confidants, and to provide for
 ' them, he turned his *English* and Protestant Sub-
 ' jects first out of the Army, then out of their ci-
 ' vil Trusts and Employments, and lastly out of
 ' their Fortunes and Estates. He knew very well
 ' that the Tempers and Genius of these Men
 ' were at Enmity to the Laws, and fitted for that
 ' Constitution of Slavery under which he design-
 ' ed to bring the Kingdoms: He found that none
 ' were more fawning to their Superiors than they,
 ' nor did they flatter with more Meanness and
 ' Servility; and, according to the Nature of such
 ' People, none are more insolent and tyrannous
 ' to their Inferiors; and this was the Reason that
 ' they were so dear to King *James*, and that he
 ' preferred and trusted them rather than his Pro-
 ' testant and *English* Subjects. The Bargain be-
 ' twixt him and them was plainly this, *Restore*
 ' *us to our former Power, Estates and Religion,*
 ' *and we will serve you as you please, in your own*
 ' *Way*; an Expression that King *James* and all his
 ' Creatures often used, and were very fond of.

Any one may discern how admirably cut out
 and adapted these *Cannibals* were for King *James's*
 Purpose; nor was it long before he introduced
 them into his Service, displacing others to make
 Way for them. *Ormond* being recalled, the Privy
 Council was immediately dissolved, and all such
 Protestants as had been most hearty for the Pro-
 testant Interest were dismissed, so that in a little
 Time the major Part of the Council consisted of
 Papists. Colonel *Richard Talbot*, afterwards Earl
 of *Tyrconnel*, was first made Lieutenant General,
 and intrusted with the new modelling the Army.
 He was, says Dr. *King*, a Person more hated than
 any other by the *English*, and had been named

by

by *Oates* in his Narrative for this very Employment, which made many, that believed nothing of the Popish Plot before, now give Credit to his Narrative; and the common Saying was, That if *Oates* was an *ill Evidence*, he was certainly a *good Prophet*. *Tyrconnel* considered the Army as the only Engine he depended on for destroying the Religion, Liberty and Laws of the Kingdom; and therefore resolved to have it fitted for his Purpose, which he set about with all Expedition, and prosecuted in such a Manner as might be expected from a Man of his insolent Temper, exercising the utmost Falshood and Barbarity: *In the Morning* he would take an Officer into his Closet, and with all the Oaths, Curses and Damnations, that were never wanting to him, he would profess Friendship and Kindness, and promise him the Continuance of his Commission, and, *in the Afternoon*, cashier him with all the Contempt he could heap on him: Nay, it may be, while he was thus caressing him, he had actually given away his Commission; and such as he turned out, he treated barbarously, seizing the Horses of many Officers, cheating them of their Pay, and stripping the common Soldiers even of their Shirts; so that some hundred Gentlemen, that had laid out their Estates in buying Commissions, were deprived of them in an arbitrary Manner, and five or six thousand Soldiers sent a begging, and a Company of *Irish* Papists substituted in their Room.

Some Time after he is made Lord Lieutenant, the News of which amazed the poor Protestants; it struck like a Thunder-bolt, perhaps no Age, *says the Bishop*, can paralel so dreadful a Catastrophe among all Ages and Sexes, as if the Day of Doom was come, every one lamenting their Condition,

dition, and almost all that could abandoning the Kingdom.

The Judges are presently changed, the Protestants generally turned out, and some of the most profligate branded Creatures in the whole Profession of the Law put in, who had no other Merit but that of Bigottry to Popery, and implacable Rage against the Protestants, and a Readiness to serve King *James* in his own Way. Take an Example in the Chancellor (*& ex uno disce omnes*) 'The Chancery, says my Author, is the
'greatest and highest Court, wherein the great
'Frauds and other Matters belonging to Trust
'and Equity are determined, and neither the
'Lord Primate *Boyle*, who had managed that
'Court above twenty Years, nor Sir *Charles Porter*, who succeeded him, could answer the
'King's Intention; but Sir *Alexander Titton*, a
'Person detected of Forgery, not only at *Westminster* and *Chester*, but likewise fined by the
'House of Lords in Parliament, must be brought
'out of Goal, and set on the highest Court of
'the Kingdom, to keep the King's Conscience,
'though he wanted Law and natural Capacity,
'as well as Honesty and Courage to discharge
'such a Trust, and had no other Quality to recommend him, besides his being a Convert-
'Papist; that is, a Renegado to his Religion and
'his Country. He could not understand the
'Merit of a Cause of any Difficulty, and therefore never failed to give Sentence according to
'his Inclination, having no other Rule to lead
'him; and how he was inclined to all Protestants,
'appears from his Declaration on all Occasions
'against them. He did not stick, on a Hearing,
'to declare that they are all Rogues, and that
'amongst forty Thousand, there was not one
'who was not a Rebel, a Traitor and a Villain;
'for

for this Reason he would not allow the Guar-
 dianship of a Child to the Protestant Mother,
 but gave it against the positive Words of the
 Law, to the Popish Relations. For this Cause
 he over-ruled both the common Rules and of
 Practice of the Courts, and the Laws of the
 Land, declaring in open Court, that the
Chancery was above all Laws, that no Law
 could bound his Conscience. After hearing
 a Cause between a Protestant and a Papist,
 he would often declare, that he would consult
 a Divine before he gave a Decree; that is, he
 would have the Opinion of a Popish Priest,
 his Chaplain, educated in *Spain*, and furnished
 with Distinctions to satisfy his Conscience how
 far he should do Justice to Protestants. In short,
 all Offices, whether Military or Civil, were
 disposed of to a Set of the greatest Villains in
 the World: They were forced to rake into the
 very Scum and Sink of the People, to find a
 few to sit on the Bench: Men without Free-
 hold, without Sense, and without Honesty,
 were made Sheriffs. There was not a Prote-
 stant Sheriff in all *Ireland* in the Year 1687.
 except one, supposed to be put in by Mistake,
 instead of a Catholick Name-fake (*Charles Ha-*
milton for *John*.) The mean Employments of
 an high or petty Constable, a Goaler, &c.
 were thought too good for Protestants, who
 now had the Mortification to be at the Mercy
 of a Company of illegal Officers, Sheriffs, Ju-
 stices and Juries, some of whole Fathers, or
 near Relations, they had either hanged for
 thieving, robbing and murdering, or killed in
 the very Act of *Torying*.

Another Thing they set themselves about
 was, to dissolve the Corporations, take away
 their Charters, and model them according to their
 own Mind; and this Way they thought the more
 necessary, because, after the Rebellion in 41, the
 Papists

Papists were excluded by the Charters from the Freedom of voting in their Corporations, many of which had been procured, and some built by the Industry of the Protestants. Hereby the Protestants were secure of Parliament-men; but this Barrier was broke through, all the Corporations being dissolved, and their Charters wrested out of their Hands by *Quo Warranto's*; and where new Charters were granted, they were filled up chiefly with Papists, and Men of desperate Fortunes, a Clause being inserted in every one of them, by which they were subjected to the *absolute Will of the King*, the King's Chief Governor having Power to put in and out whom he pleased, without giving any Reason, &c. So that the Corporations became now so entirely in the King's Power, that he might, says my Author, *as well name his Regiment of Guards a free Parliament, as the Burgeses returned by such Elections*; and indeed Aldermen and Burgeses of the new Charters were above two Thirds Papists.

What Train of Calamities the Protestants suffered during the rest of King *James's* Tyranny, under such Ministers and Officers, is pretty well known; however, something I shall say of them, and shall reduce them to four Heads, and just touch upon each; *the Sufferings of their Liberties, Estates, Religion and Lives*: To begin with their *Liberties*.

Civil Liberties taken away.

No sooner had they gotten Judges and Juries that would believe them, but they began a Trade of swearing, and ripping up what they had heard their Neighbours say of his Majesty, whilst Duke of *York*, especially in the Time of the Popish Plot. The new Justices readily bound over the accused Protestants, and committed them without any Reason given in the Warrant; it was Time enough to invent Reasons against the

next

next Affizes; and in this Case Perjury was grown so common, that if a Tenant owed his Protestant Landlord any Rent, he paid him by *swearing him into a Plot*: If a Papist had any Quarrel with his Protestant Neighbour, or owed him Money, he paid him with the same Coin: Many were indicted, fined and imprisoned by these Contrivances, and not being able to satisfy the King for their Fines, he seized both their Bodies and Estates; the new Mayors were as tyrannical in their Places as any of the rest. Sir *Thomas Hacket*, Lord Mayor of *Dublin*, among many brutish and barbarous Things he did, sent his Warrant, and committed the Officers of *Christ-Church* to the Stocks, *because he fancied they did not make the Bells ring merrily enough for the Birth of the Prince of Wales*, though that Church was without his Jurisdiction: At last it came to a general Seizure, and almost all the Protestant Gentlemen, without Pretence of Reason, Warrant, or Form of Law, were put in Goals under the Custody of mean and barbarous Guards, whose very Captains had no better Education than that of Footmen or Cowherds; whoever pleased had the Power to commit Protestants, and if at any Time they asked, by what Authority they were committed, they were answered, *We have committed you, get out again as you can.*

As for their Possessions and Estates, they had Protestants a Variety of Methods to cheat them out of them; by Fraud their Arms, Cattle, Money, all were taken from and Violence deprived of them. In the Beginning of King *James's* Reign, the Protestant Militia were dissolved, and tho' their Estates. they had bought their own Arms, they were obliged to bring them into the Store: There was, however, a considerable Quantity of Arms in several Places, especially in *Dublin*, to deprive them of which, the Lord-Deputy drew
nine

nine or ten Regiments thither, and filling the Streets and Lanes with Foot and Horse, he sent the City-Officers to signify to every House, that if they did not immediately deliver up their Arms, they should be left to the Mercy of the Soldiers, both as to Life and Goods: The Protestants looking upon this as a Threatning of a general Massacre, which they feared; and, to avoid so terrible a dragooning, were forced to comply: Afterwards came out a Proclamation, forbidding any Protestant to wear or keep a Sword, under Penalty of being counted Rebels or Traitors; and in the same Manner they took away their Horses, and indeed all they had: Their Expences were multiplied, their Trade ruined, their Houses and Villages destroyed by Robberies and Free-quarters; their Receipts and Rents stopt: The Popish Tenants were taught to answer when their Landlords demanded Rent, that they had spent what they had designed for them to fit themselves for the King's Service, and he was sure to be represented as disaffected, that did not sit down with this Answer. And, to make quicker Dispatch, a general plundering or robbing was set on Foot; so that they scarce left a Protestant in *Ireland* a Cow or a Sheep; and it seems the Priests encouraged this Trade, imposing it as a *Penance* upon such as came to them for Absolution, to rob some of their Protestant Neighbours; their real Estates had the same Fate; a counterfeit Deed, produced by a Catholick, would turn a Protestant Gentleman out of all he had, and at last by a pretended Parliament, chose in effect by the King himself; and which had little more to do than, like a Parliament of *France*, conform to the King's Edict; an Act of Attainder is past, by which all Protestants, whose Names they could find, of all Ages, Sexes,

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Sexes, and Degrees, are attainted of High Treason ; and their Estates vested in the King, which swept away what the Act of *Repeal* left.

It is easy to suppose what Violence would be offered to the Protestant Religion, when they were treated with so much Barbarity the Professors of it : King *James* indeed had stickled mightily for Liberty of Conscience : But, says Dr. *King*, the Protestants found that a Papist, whatever he professes, is but an ill Guardian of Liberty of Conscience ; and that the same Religion, that obliged the King of *Spain* to set up an Inquisition, would not long endure the King of *England* to maintain Liberty. Some of the Papists would forwardly tell their Neighbours, that *Ireland* must be a Catholick Kingdom, and they hastned as fast as they could to make it so ; ruining the Protestant University of *Dublin*, and Protestant Schools up and down the Kingdom ; erecting Popish Seminaries, converting the legal Maintenance of the Protestant Clergy to the Use of Popish Priests, plundering and seizing their Churches in a rude and violent Manner. In Corporations, the Mayors, or other Governors, with the Priests, went to the Churches, sent for the Keys to the Sextons ; and if they could not get the Keys, broke open the Doors, pulled up the Seats, &c. and having said Mass in the Churches, declared them their own, that they were consecrated Places, and that the King himself had nothing to do with them ; and that to give them back to Hereticks were Sacrilege ; in Country Places the Officers of the Army did the same ; thus *Christ-Church* in *Dublin* was seized by *Luttrell* the Governor, and about twenty six more in the Diocess of *Dublin* ; and when they had drove them into private Houses for Worship, they molested them there, and at last forbid more than five

five Protestants to meet together under Pain of Death, which shut up the Churches and religious Assemblies through the Kingdom; and had King *James* returned victorious from the *Boyn*, it was resolved they should be opened no more for the Protestants.

Lifethreat-
ned as well
as Liberty,

Nor was Life spared, though they did not think proper yet to make a general Slaughter as in Forty one: Many however were killed by the Soldiers, murdered in their Houses, executed by Martial Law, starved in Jails, &c. It was made Death by a Proclamation for the Scholars of the College of *Dublin*, to meet and converse together, above two or three at a Time; and to show what they designed, had not Providence prevented, every Member of their sham Parliament was ordered to return such Protestant Gentlemen, as lived near him, or in the County, or Borough for which he served; and when they had made a large Collection of Names, they attainted them, and allowed them not Time to come in, and put themselves on Trial: It is observable this Act left no Room for the King to pardon after such a Day, and yet was concealed, and no Protestant allowed to see it till the Time limited for Pardon was past four Months.

I will give a single Instance, which may show upon what Terms the Protestants stood for their Lives: Several Gentlemen kept their Horses, and armed their Servants, in order to defend themselves against the Rapparees or Plunderers, which was called, *levying War against the King*. In the County of *Cork*, one Mr. *Brown* had been seen in a Company of Men that were endeavouring to make their Escape from the Plunderers, but left them and went Home; he was however for this brought before Judge *Dally*, who acquitted him as innocent: Afterwards he was carried

ried before Judge *Nugent*, and even he, as bad as he was, at first seemed inclined to acquit him, till he had discoursed with King *James*, lately come over; and then, by a corrupt Jury, found him guilty, and condemned him to be hanged, drawn and quartered; and the Sentence was accordingly executed, no Intreaties being able to prevail with King *James* to pardon him; which made many call to Mind the bloody Executions in the *West of England*, and fear *Nugent* would act over again the infamous Part of *Jefferies*.

Nay, it seems, they were for famishing the whole Body of Protestants, and the Methods they took would have done it effectually, had their Power lasted a little longer; if the Protestants had any Provisions of Bisket or barrelled Beef, &c. there was a general Search made for them; nor would they suffer them to buy either Bread or Drink in the City of *Dublin* at any Rate; twenty or thirty Soldiers stood constantly about every Bake-house, and would not suffer a Protestant to come nigh it. If they sent in to the Country, and by Interest and a great Price got a Barrel of Wheat from a Popish Farmer, it was seized as it came to Town; and tho' there was Plenty of all Things, yet several Protestant Families could not get a Loaf of Bread in a Week or Fortnight; so that the poor People began to be convinced it was more than a bare Threatning, which Sir *Robert Parker* and others blabed out in the Coffeehouse, viz. *That they designed to starve one Half of the Protestants, and hang the other; and that it would never be well till this was done.*

In *England* King *James* found his Affairs a little embarrassed, his Parliament was not so tractable as he expected, notwithstanding his Endeavours to pack an Assembly to his Mind, by

Quo Warranto's, Closetting, the Intreagues of the Lord Lieutenants, and Regulators; and therefore, after several Prorogations, he dissolves them, July 2. 1687, and goes to work another Way, tampering with the Judges to set up his dispensing Power, since the Parliament could not be wrought upon to do it; to which Purpose the King closets the old Judges, and questions them upon the Point, whether they would maintain his Power to dispense with the penal Laws and Test: The first Man the King founds was Sir Thomas Jones, who boggled at it, and at last told the King he could not do it; whereupon the

Vid. History of King William, Vol. I. p. 206. King answered, he would have twelve Judges of his Mind; to which Sir Thomas replied, He might possibly have twelve Judges of his Opinion, but would scarce find twelve Lawyers to be so. He and several others, that would not bend

The dispensing Power vindicated by the Judges. to the King's Will, were removed, and a new Set introduced that were more at his Majesty's Devotion, as Sir Henry Bedingfield, Sir Edward Atkins, Sir Edward Lutwiche, &c. These readily fall in with the Measures of the Court, and are prepared to support by their Authority such extravagant Positions as had been delivered by fawning Courtiers, and in many fulsome Harangues from the Pulpit, viz. *That Monarchy and hereditary Succession were by Divine Right: That the Legislature was vested in the Person of the Prince, and that Power in the King to dispense with the Law, was Law; accordingly, in a Case of Sir Edward Hales, they gave it for Law.*

- ' That the Kings of *England* are sovereign Princes.
- ' That the Laws of *England* are the King's Laws.

That

‘ That therefore it is an incident, inseparable
 ‘ Prerogative in the Kings of *England*, as in all
 ‘ other sovereign Princes, to *dispense with penal*
 ‘ *Laws* in particular Cases, and upon particular
 ‘ necessary Reasons.

‘ That of those Reasons, and of those Ne-
 ‘ cessities, the King himself is the sole Judge.
 ‘ And,

‘ That this is not a Trust invested in, or
 ‘ granted to the King by the People, but is the
 ‘ ancient Remain of the sovereign Power, and
 ‘ Prerogative of the Kings of *England*, which
 ‘ never yet was taken from them, *nor can be.*’

Thus, adds the *Memoirs*, were we fallen un-
 der the greatest Misfortune that could happen
 to a Nation, to have our Laws and Constitution
 trampled upon under Colour of Law, and those
 very Men, whose Office it was to support them,
 were the Betrayers of them to the Will of the
 Prince.

This grand Point being gained, though after
 a very sorry Manner, the King proceeds, exer-
 cising his dispensing Power without Reserve;
 the Papists are preferred to all Sorts of Trusts,
 some made Privy Counsellors, others Judges;
 some (as Sir *Richard Allibone*, and Mr. *Ingleby*)
 were by the King’s Writ called to the Degree
 of Serjeants at Law, and gave Rings with this
 Motto, *A Rege Lex*.

In the mean Time the Interest of the Catho-
 lick Church, as they call it, is not forgotten:
Jesuits, and all Sorts of Ecclesiasticks, like the
 Swarms of Flies, and Lice of *Egypt*, or Locusts Popery
 out of the bottomless Pit, cover the Land: bare-faced.
 Schools and Seminaries are erected at *London*,
 and in most considerable Towns in the Kingdom:

Four *Roman* Catholick Bishops were publickly consecrated in the Royal Chappel, and dispatched down under the Titles of *Vicars Apostolical*, to exercise their Functions in their respective Diocesses; their pastoral Letters directed to the Lay-Catholicks of *England*, were dispersed up and down, and printed by the King's own Printer with publick Licence. The *regular Clergy* appeared in their Habits at *Whitehall* and *St. James's*, and made no Scruple to tell the People that they hoped in a little Time to walk in Procession thro' *Cheapside*; and that these Enemies might have the fuller Swing, and sow their Tares without any Complaints by the Husbandmen, *An Order was sent to the Protestant Bishops to discharge all their inferior Clergy from preaching upon controverted Points in Divinity*: But this unreasonable Prohibition awakned, rather than discouraged the Zeal of many eminent Ministers of the Church of *England*, and set them upon preaching in Defence of the Protestant Religion, and writing against *Rome*, whose Errors they exposed in such a Manner, as galled their Adversaries, and made them gnash their Teeth for Vexation, which I mention to the Honour of those learned and brave Men of the * Church of

* It has, I know, been often cast in the Teeth of the *Dissenters*, that they were silent at this dangerous and critical Juncture; *Dissenters Cause* but I am satisfied such as impute it to any Coolness, with *for not writing* Reference to the Cause depending, an Indifference about *more against Popery.* Popery, or a cowardly temporizing, very much wrong them. They were glad to see the Work in so good Hands, and the Controversy managed to so good Purpose by their Protestant Brethren of the Church of *England*. They thought it but reasonable to leave them to lay the Devil, they had done so much, many of them, to raise; and rejoiced to see them so vigorously endeavour it; and besides, it should be remembred that the Dissenters were but just come out of Jails and Prisons; a little while ago they durst scarce ride along the King's High-way, for fear of a Church of *England* Pursuivant: Their Papers were

of England that made so noble a Stand for their Religion in its greatest Danger. But this gave no small Offence, and Resolutions were taken to check these Advocates for the Protestant Cause, and keep them under; to which Purpose a new Court of Inquisition was erected, under the Name of an ecclesiastical Commission directed to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Chancellor *Jefferies*, the Earl of *Rochester*, and Earl of *Sunderland*, the Bishops of *Durham* and *Rochester*, the Lord Chief Justice *Herbert*, which impowered them to exercise all Manner of ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in the fullest Manner. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* excused himself from the Beginning, as did the Bishop of *Rochester*, as soon as he understood it was levelled against the Protestant Religion; so that *Jefferies* and the Bishop of *D——m*, &c. were left to do all the dirty Work themselves.

The first Act of Authority (if so illegal a Dr. *Sharp* Court may pretend to Authority in any Thing) ^{suspended by the High Commission.} was against the Bishop of *London*, Dr. *Sharp*, afterwards Archbishop of *York*, had taken the Freedom to vindicate the Protestant Religion, and

Y 3

speak

were rifled, Books and Goods plundered; and what Wonder if Men in such Circumstances were no great Writers: How should they trace the Popish Juglers through the Fathers and Councils, that had some of them few Books left, except the *Bible* and *Pilgrims Progress*, &c. But, after all, there is too much Reason to say, *The Church of England neither desired nor would accept their Help*. Mr. *Hanmer*, a learned Dissenter, and well skilled in Antiquity, had prepared a Discourse against the whole System of Popery, which was refused Licence, as was Mr. *Pendlebury's Discourse* against *Transubstantiation*; though Dr. *Tillotson* recommended it, and used his Endeavours to get it printed. Nay, it is said, it was offered that Mr. *Baxter* should produce a Piece against Popery every Month, if a Licence might be had; but this Motion was rejected with Scorn, and indeed every Thing undertaken by a Dissenter blown upon: So that, all Things considered, it is less Difficulty to apologize for the Dissenters in this Matter, than to defend the Honour of some of their Brethren.

Speak against the Corruptions of the Church of Rome: This was interpreted at Court, an Endeavour to beget in the Minds of the Hearers an ill Opinion of the King and his Government; and therefore to rebuke the Doctor, and terrify others, the King sends an expresse Order to the Bishop of *London* to suspend Dr. *Sharp*; the Bishop excuses himself, it being against Law; for which he was suspended himself by the High Commission, as was also Dr. *Sharp*.

The Camp
at Houn-
slow Heath.

But yet all was not right, the King saw his Authority disputed even by the Divines of the Church of *England*, that had formerly talked so loudly for *passive Obedience*: He found his Doctors could make no great Progress in converting, therefore resolves upon more forcible Arguments; to which End he draws together Fourteen or Fifteen thousand of his Troops, and forms a Camp at *Hounslow Heath*, erecting a Chappel at his Head Quarters, where Mass was said every Day; and now every Body expected Swords and Muskets must serve instead of Scripture and Syllogisms; which some the rather feared, because the *French* King had lately revoked the *Edict* of *Nantz*, and set upon the Conversion of his hugonot Subjects by dragooning, thereby showing the Way to his Brother in *England*; and it seems, by a Speech made to him at *Versaills* by a *French* Bishop, (which was printed by King *Lewis's* Authority, and the Translation allowed by King *James* to go among his Subjects) it was expected he should assist in the same Work here; the Speech-maker having magnified the King for his Zeal in *suppressing the Protestant Religion* in his Kingdom, tells his Majesty, 'That *England* offered him one of the most glorious Occasions he could wish for, and that the King of *England* wanted nothing but the Sup-

' port

'port of his Arms to settle the Catholick Religion; and indeed it was *English* Arms and *French* Arms together that they trusted to.

In the latter End of the Year 1686. the Earl of *Castlemain* is sent to *Rome*, as Extraordinary Ambassador, with Instructions to reconcile the Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, to the Holy See; though it is said the Politick Father *Innocent XI.* received this Embassy but coldly, and pitied King *James's* Rashness and hasty Zeal, apprehending he drave too furiously.

About the same Time the King put forth his *K. James's* Declaration for Liberty of Conscience; the Declaration. sign of which was, under this specious Pretence, on for Liberty of Conscience to get his dispensing Power more generally owned and received; he first signified to his Council, *March 18. 1686-7.* that it was his Opinion, that Conscience was not to be forced, and that no Man should suffer for Conscience sake; and in Pursuit of this, *April 4. 1687.* he published his An Apology for the Declaration, wherein he dispenses with the penal Dissenters Laws and Tests; and this by his absolute Authority against several Acts of Parliament. It is who addressed on that Occasion. known the Dissenters not only made use of the Liberty this gave them, but several of them thanked the King for it in their Addresses, which since has been turned to their Reproach, but generally by such as have little considered the Matter. Many of them met for religious Worship in private Assemblies before the Liberty; and I suppose none will say, they might not as well do it afterwards. They had a natural Right to their Liberty, and who could blame them for using it when offered? They saw their Prisons opened, their Fetters broke, and the unmerciful Hands that had so long tore them tied up: They could walk the Streets, sit in their own Houses, and go to the House of God without being terrified

fied with ecclesiastical Bailiffs; and what Wonder they were pleased to part with their Chains? And if some of them exceeded in their Compliments to the King, on this Occasion, it must be considered that Oppression will make a wise Man mad; their Joy was like the Transports of one delivered from the Rack, or brought out of a Dungeon into a free Air and the open Sun-shine; most of them were aware of the *Snake in the Grass*, as much as any of their Neighbours; and several never addressed at all, only quietly enjoyed their Liberty, and all of them cheerfully concurred with their Brethren (when once they were awakned out of their Security) in opposing the common Destruction, which they had foreseen, and would have guarded against at a greater Distance, but could not be heard; and if Recrimination would signify any Thing, it may be said, that many of the Church Party are in the same Condemnation; the Bishops of *Durham, Chester, Lincoln, Coventry and Litchfield*, and *St. David's*, prevailed with their Clergy to compliment his Majesty with Addresses of Thanks for his *gracious Declaration*: Not to mention their Addresses for dissolving a Parliament in the former Reign, for no other Fault but endeavouring to screen the Nation from imminent Ruin; and the famous Addresses of Abhorrence; so that if some of the Dissenters were blameable in this Matter, others are involved in the same Guilt, and surely it ill becomes those to judge them, who have done the same Things themselves, and that without half so much Temptation: It was other Folks that addressed the King into the Exercise of a dispensing Power; the Dissenters expressed their Thankfulness (unduly, it may be, and unseasonably some of them) that he used it to save them from their Oppressions, and this is made

made an unpardonable Crime, even by such as cry up the Prerogative extravagantly upon all other Occasions, except when employed in Favour of the Dissenters.

The King having thus pretty well fixed, as ^{Proceed-} he thought, the great Rule of his future Govern-^{ing against} ment, *arbitrary Power*, he goes on to exercise ^{Cambridge} it towards both Universities: He sends a Man-^{and Oxford.} date to *Cambridge* to admit one *Abban Francis* a Benedictine Monk, to the Degree of Master of Arts, without taking the usual Oaths; his Majesty having dispensed with *Francis* for not having that necessary Qualification, the *Vice-Chancellor*, and others of the Body, represent to his Majesty the Oaths they were under, not to admit any to Degrees *without legal Qualifications*, and they humbly hoped his Majesty would not force them to wilful Perjury. But this Remonstrance availed nothing, the *Vice Chancellor* was suspended by the High Commission Court for Disobedience to the King's Command, as *Jefferies* signified to him, when he passed the Sentence.

Next the Storm broke out upon *Oxford*, the President of *Magdalene College* being dead, the King by his Mandate required them to chuse one *Farmer*, a Man of an ill Reputation, and that had promised to declare himself a *Papist*, which they could not do without *deliberate Perjury*, *Farmer* not being qualified according to the Statutes of their College, which they had sworn to observe; accordingly they represent their Case to the King, but in vain, and afterwards give their Reasons more fully to the High Commission, before whom they were cited: One of the Fellows, *Dr. Fairfax*, was so bold as to except again the Authority of the Court, alledging that the Matter did not ly in that Court, but *Westminster Hall*: To which *Jefferies* replied, he was

a *Doctor of Divinity*, but not of Law; whereupon the Dr. added, He desired to know by what Authority they sat, which put *Jefferies* into so great a Passion, that he cries out, *What Commission have you to be so impudent in Court?* This Man ought to keep in a dark Room; why do you suffer him without a Guardian, &c. After another Hearing of the Matter, the Vice-President, Dr. *Aldworth*, with Dr. *Fairfax*, was suspended, and Dr. *Hough*, whom they had chosen President, deprived of his Presidentship, and the Fellows of the College were ordered to see the Sentence executed, and fixt to the Gates of their College, which they neglecting to do, were cited before the Commissioners at *Whitehall*; but the Court being ashamed of *Farmer*, the King by a fresh Mandate orders them to chuse Dr. *Parker*, the Bishop of *Oxford*, one devoted to the Court-Interest, but the Fellows were under the same Necessity, either of being perjured or disobeying the King, which they represent to him upon his Majesty's coming to *Oxford* in Person, on their Knees, beseeching him to extend the same Tenderness to them he did to all the other of his Subjects: The King rages at this, and expresses his Resentment in the following Terms:

' You have been a stubborn and turbulent College, I have known you to be so these Twenty
' six Years, you have affronted me in this——
' Is this your Church of *England-Loyalty*? One
' would wonder to find so many Church of *Eng-*
' *land* Men in such a Business; go Home and
' shew yourselves good Members of the Church
' of *England*——Get you gone——Know
' I am your King and will be obeyed. Go and ad-
' mit the Bishop of *Oxford* Head, Principal, what
' do

do you call it, of your College, (one that stood
 ' by said President) I mean President of the Col-
 ' lege; let them that refuse it look to it, *They*
 ' *shall feel the Weight of their Sovereign's Power.*'

But neither the King's Threats nor his Agents
 could work upon the College to a Submission,
 so that at last Dr. *Hough* and Twenty five Fel-
 lows were suspended, and declared incapable of
 any ecclesiastical Benefice or Promotion. And
 thus did King *James*, to serve Mother-Church,
 dispense not only with Laws, but Oaths.

But that which gave the loudest and most ef-^{Bishops}
 fectual Alarm to the Nation, was *the imprisoning* sent to the
Seven Bishops in the *Tower*; the King thought ^{Tower.}
 fit to renew his Declaration for Liberty of Con-
 science, and by an Order of Council command-
 ed it to be read in all Churches and Chappels at
 the Time of divine Service, and the Bishops
 were obliged to distribute the Declarations, and
 cause them to be read: Several of the Bishops
 complied, and it is said the Bishop of *Durham*
 suspended thirty Ministers of his Diocese for not
 reading the Declaration: But several refused,
 looking upon the Matter of the Declaration ille-
 gal, the Foot upon which it stood, being a Pow-
 er to dispense with all Sorts of Laws, which is
 contrary to the End in making them: The
 Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Dr. *Shancroft*, and six
 more, drew up a Petition to the King, in which
 they modestly represented, ' That their Non-
 ' Compliance did not proceed from Want of Loy-
 ' alty, nor from any Want of due Tenderneſs
 ' towards Dissenters; *In relation to whom, they*
 ' *were willing to come to such a Temper as should*
 ' *be thought fit*, when the Matter should be confi-
 ' dered in Parliament and Convocation, but they
 ' could

June 29.
1688.

could not do it; chiefly, because the Declaration was founded upon such a Power as had often been declared illegal in Parliament, particularly in the Years 1662 and 1672, and in the Beginning of his Majesty's Reign: The King was angry at this, tells them he did not expect it from the Church of *England*, especially from some of them; and after *Jefferies* had hector'd them before the Council, they were committed to the *Tower*, and some Time after were brought to their Trial, and acquitted to the Mortification of the Court, and the no less Rejoicing of the Protestants: The Shouts of the People reached the Soldiers at *Hounslow Heath*, and were so ecchoed by them, that the King hearing the Acclamations, sent to know what was the Matter, the Earl of *Haversham* told him, nothing but the Soldiers shouting upon the Bishops being acquitted. *And do you call that nothing*, says the King?

Popery
thrives a-
pace, and
spreads
thro' the
Nation.

Every Body will imagine, that under the Encouragement of so zealous a Patron, the Priests of the Church of *Rome* would bestir themselves, and that no Endeavours would be omitted to propagate their Faith; they fill the Country and City with their Catechisms and Mannuals of Devotion, and with a great deal of Cunning represent their Doctrines to the World, glossing them over with so much Art that a vulgar Eye could scarce distinguish them: In the mean Time the grosser Errors were concealed from the People, and the cloven Foot kept out of Sight; Popish Schools abound up and down the Kingdom. *Magdalene* College is given into their Hands, *Dr. Gifford* of the Faculty of *Paris* being made President: An House is provided for entertaining 200 Popish Orphans, under the Direction of the Benedictine Monks of *St. James's*; several

several are encouraged to turn Papists, by a weekly Allowance paid them for that Purpose, *Father Peter* was designed to be Archbishop of *York*, and indeed Popery, though it utterly disabled according to Law, was now the *only Step to Preferment*. The King closets several Noblemen, and deals with them about their Conversion; the Marquis of *Hallifax*, and Lord *Dorset*, and *Lumley*, received Letters from an unknown Hand, threatening sudden Death, unless they made Peace with God and the King, by reconciling themselves to the *Roman Catholick Church*.

Nor were the King's Intentions any longer dissembled; Things were now acted above Board, insomuch that the Pope's *Nuncio* makes his publick Entry through the Streets of *London* at Noon-day in great Pomp, preceded by a Cross-Bearer, and attended by a Flock of Priests and Monks, in the Habits of their respective Orders. The Duke of *Somerset* was appointed by the King to attend the *Nuncio* to his Audience; but desired his Majesty to excuse him from countenancing any Act the Law of the Land made criminal; upon which he lost his Place of first Gentleman of the Bed-chamber; yet, adds Dr. *Kennet*, a Bishop of the Church, or rather of the Court, is said to have made no Scruple in *B. D. m.* this Matter, but to have made up Part of the *Nuncio's Train*.

But notwithstanding all this, there were one Just Suspitions of the Queen's great Belly. Allay in their Comfort, the King was growing into Years, and had no Children but two Daughters, married to Protestant Princes, from neither of whom could they expect any great Matters; so that nothing in the World was wanting so much as a Son, that might inherit his Majesty's Crown with his Religion and Virtues, without this, they considered they had but a Sort of a
Gourd

Gourd to rejoice in, which would soon be smitten, and then their Hopes perish! Well, what must be done? The Queen had left off Child-bearing for several Years, and was now become very infirm; however, a Child they must have *and a Son too*, or it would not serve their Turn: To which Purpose a great deal of Application is made to the Saints for Assistance, to St. *Winifred* here in *England*, and to the Lady of *Loretto*, whom the Queen's Mother, the Dutchess of *Modena*, had obliged with a very handsome Present, and behold the good Effect! Shortly, the News flies about the Kingdom like Lightning, that the Queen's with Child, and out comes a Proclamation for a general Thanksgiving, the Bishop of *Durham*, &c. having prepared a Form suitable to the Occasion, and in due Time the Queen is delivered of a Prince, as many of the Papists confidently said it † would be, long before it was born, which was publicly christened according to the Manner of the Church of *Rome*, the Pope represented by his *Nuncio*, standing Godfather. If the Papists *had ever been guilty of Imposture and Forgery*, there had been all the Reason in the World to suspect them upon this Occasion; and indeed there were so many Circumstances of Suspicion relating to the Queen's Conception, Breeding and Delivery, that most looked upon the whole a Piece

† In an Address from *Carlisle*, said to be penned by a *Jesuit*, they express their Confidence in this Matter: Some Passages of the Address being very peculiar, are worth reciting. They thank his Majesty for his Royal Army, as the Honour and Safety of the Nation; they promise his Majesty to chuse such Members, when he should call a Parliament, as would certainly concur with his Majesty in taking off the penal Laws and Test, and not hazard the Election of any Person, who had any Ways declared in Favour of those cannibal Laws: Surely, say they, these Men that oppose your Majesty in so gracious a Work, do not consider *what a Sovereign Prince in his Royal Power can do*; a Work which Heaven smiles upon, and will reward with no less Blessing than a Prince of Wales.

Piece of Management, a pious, or *rather impious* Fraud, to set aside the Princesses of *Orange* and *Denmark*, and the Protestant Succession, and a vast Effort to ruin the Protestant Religion. It is indeed amazing, that no more Care should be taken to satisfy the Nation in this, had the Queen's great Belly been real, considering their Jealousies, and that Lampoons flew about the Kingdom, and even *Whitehall*, ridiculing it. It was confidently affirmed, the Queen's Breasts never swelled during the Time of her pretended Pregnancy, that she had no Milk in them, no fit Person was ever allowed to feel the Child stir in her Womb; during the four last Months, when she changed her Linen, she always withdrew from her Chamber with two or three *Italian* Women, and retired into a private Room, and would not suffer any of the Protestant Ladies to see her shift herself, *contrary to her former Custom*. When the Time drew near for the Queen to be delivered, Care was taken to advise the Princess of *Denmark*, the late Queen *Anne*, to go to the *Bath*: The Place of her Majesty's Lying-Inn was not known till *Saturday Night*, and she in Travail, as they tell us, the next Morning. The Time of her Travail was between Nine and Ten, when many of the Protestant Ladies were at Church. In the Room was a private Door, within the Rail of the Bed, thro' which the assisting Matrons passed and repassed, the Curtains all the while drawn about the Queen's Bed, so that tho' some Protestant Lords and Ladies were in the Room, they saw nothing that passed. After a very short Labour, a Child was taken out of the Bed, and carried thro' the Privy-Door into the next Room, without ever crying when it came into the World: The King, after a little Time, follows into the private Apartment, and then sends

sends Word to the Lords of the Council, *That a Prince was born*; Of whom is the Question? If this, and a great deal more that is urged in the present Argument, be true, as it is related by sundry Historians of good Credit, they must be more than ordinatily complaisant that can believe he was born of the Queen; though, however that be, I am sensible it does not at all concern the Disputes that have been raised about the Succession: Either he was the Queen's Son, or not; if not, he is excluded as an Impostor; if he be, he is excluded as a Papist; his Blood is tainted, his Birth and Education make him utterly unfit to govern a Protestant Nation, and our wise and good Laws make him incapable.

The Nation being reduced to this Extremity, the Fence of Law broken down, the King's Will set up instead of Acts of Parliament, and made virtually all Law, of which Popish Judges were made the Executors; an illegal Army kept up, daily augmented with *Irish* Cut-throats, that came over in Shoals to murder the Protestants, and take Possession of the Land. In this Distress and common Calamity, in which all Sorts of Protestants saw themselves involved, when just sinking and perishing, their Eyes are directed to the Prince of *Orange*, whose Interest in the Crown, and known Zeal for the Protestant Religion, encouraged their Expectations from him: Accordingly they present a *Memorial* to that Prince and his Royal Consort, setting forth in moving Terms the Grievances of the Nation, the Ruin that hung over their Heads, beseeching his Assistance and timely Succour, which he generously undertakes, equips a Fleet, and lands at *Torbay*, Nov. 5. 1688. It is certain, nothing but Necessity could engage his Highness in this Undertaking. Some that saw what Course King

James

The Nation in their Extremity flee to the Prince of *Orange* for Help.

James would steer, moved him immediately after the Death of King *Charles II.* to interpose. The Elector of *Brandenburg* particularly urged him to this, as we are told, and offered him his Assistance; but the Prince answered, He would never make any Attempt against his Father-in-Law without an *absolute Necessity*; but at the same Time protested, that, if he could not otherwise prevent the Subversion of the Laws and Religion of *England*, he would undertake the Voyage, *tho' he should be obliged to embark in a Fisberboat*: This *absolute Necessity* now appeared, and determined the incomparable *Hero* for his Expedition, which it pleased God so far to own and prosper, that in a little Time, and without much Blood, he found his Way to the *English* Throne, and became the Deliverer of Britain, of Europe, and the Ornament and Defence of the Protestant Religion thro' the World. And here I doubt not the Reader will agree with me to set up an *Ebenezer*; behold the Preparations of several Ages dashed in Pieces at once! Here is Life in the Midst of Death, a Plank thrown out after a most desperate Wrack, a Deliverance is wrought for us so seasonable, so surprizing, as may deserve to introduce a new *Epocha* into our Account. The glorious Year of 88 should never be forgotten by *English* Men and Protestants: *Hitherto the Lord has helped us.*

The next Reign one would have thought must have been a continual Jubilee, and that the grateful Britons would have been employed in resounding their *Hosanna Magna* (as the *Jews* called their Song on the last Day of the Feast of Tabernacles) first to their God, the Author, and then to their Prince, the Instrument of their Salvation: But it cannot be denied nor dissembled, that there was a Race of *Monsters*, as one may call them, that soon forgot all that was done, despised

Opposition
to King
William's
Govern-
ment.

their Deliverance, cursed their Deliverer, embarrassed his Government, and obstructed the excellent Designs he had formed for the Good of his Country, and the Advancement of the Protestant Religion; and such was his Zeal, so intent was his great Soul upon the publick Welfare, and yet so successful these spiteful Men in opposing him, that the Disappointment he met with preyed upon his Spirits, and it is thought, more than any Thing, wasted his invaluable Life.

But besides the more indirect Methods of annoying the Government, and affronting *this great Hero* at the Head of it, several Attempts were made against him in a more violent Way, of which something, tho' very briefly, must here be said.

Tho' King *James* had done all that could be expected from a *Popish Bigot*, to render his Government intolerable to a free People, had most grossly violated his Coronation-Oath, as well as his own voluntary solemn Promises, had forced the Nation to take up Arms in the necessary Defence of themselves, their Religion and Posterity, against those that had vowed their Destruction; tho' he had forfeited the Crown, *abdicated* the Throne, and fled into *France*, yet he still kept up his Pretensions and Hopes, and left a Party among us that were continually projecting his Restoration; and these not only Men of his own Religion, but *even Protestants* were confederate with them, and join in all the base and vile Measures imaginable to disturb and undermine that happy Government, that Providence had blessed the Nation with. Hence they proceed with unwearied Malice from Plot to Plot, during

during the most of King *William's* Reign, not
 bogling even at *Assassination and Murder*.

A Pamphlet of that Time, speaking of the ^{Rise of} Jacobite Plots that were every now and then ^{Jacobite} breaking out, gives this Account of them, tra-^{Plots.}cing them up to their Original. 'The first Step,
 'says the Author, was the disaffected Clergy's
 'writing against taking the new Oaths to their
 'Majesties, and buzzing into the Ears of their
 'Votaries the Unlawfulness of those Oaths, and
 'the continuing Right of King *James* to the
 'Crown. The next Step was, their cheating
 'the World and their own Consciences with the
 'ridiculous Distinction of taking the Oaths to a
 'King *de facto*, and not *de jure*, which implied,
 'that their Majesties were not rightful King and
 'Queen of *England*, but Usurpers: To further
 'the same Design, they publish the *History of*
 '*Passive Obedience*, which was handed about in
 'Triumph among the Party. In this Pamphlet
 'were mustered a great many Expressions of
 '*English* Divines, both ancient and modern,
 'tho' most of the Citations were far wide of the
 'Question. The next Engine was, the happy
 'Result of a Kind of OEconomick Council of
 'the whole Party: The Liturgy of the Church
 'of *England* must be laid aside, and a new one
 'is calculated for the Meridian of King *James's*
 'tottering Fortune. In this new Liturgy, they
 'prayed thus, *Restore us again the publick Wor-*
 '*ship of thy Name, the reverend Administration*
 '*of thy Sacraments; raise up the former Gover-*
 '*nor both in Church and State, that we may be*
 '*no longer without King, without Priest, and*
 '*without God in the World, &c.* There were
 'above ten Thousand of this new Liturgy dis-
 'persed among the Party, which they used in
 'their Cabals, laying aside a great Part, and

' sometimes all the old Liturgy. Many of the
 ' Club were detached up and down to perswade
 ' monied People, that wished well to the Cause,
 ' to contribute to it, and particularly for the
 ' maintaining King *James's* cashiered Officers.
 ' King *William* being necessarily absent in *Ire-*
 ' land, and the Nation destitute of Forces in a
 ' great Measure, the Plotters thought this a good
 ' Time to put their Designs in Execution; and,
 ' in order to it, at one of their general Meetings
 ' in *London*, it was concluded to present a Me-
 ' morial in the Name of the loyal and distressed
 ' Subjects of *England* (for so they named them-
 ' selves) to his most Christian Majesty; humbly
 ' beseeching him, out of his unparalleld Good-
 ' ness, and for the Affection he always bore to
 ' oppressed Virtue, that he would assist them in
 ' restoring their *lawful King*, his ancient Alley
 ' and Confederate, to his Throne, and in break-
 ' ing the Yoke of Usurpation, under which these
 ' three Nations were at this Time so heavily
 ' groaning.'

Assassina-
 tion Plot.

Nor were they more ready to ask Help of
 this Patron of the Oppressed, under which Cha-
 racter they address him, than he was to promise
 it, so that a constant Correspondence was kept
 up between the *French* Court and the *English*
Jacobites, and they were fed with Hopes from
 Time to Time of such powerful Succours from
 thence, as would effectually do their Work:
 However, War being uncertain, and the Prepa-
 rations for it tedious, as they found, they resolve
 upon another Course, which they hoped might
 be more speedy, and more effectual, and that
 was, to assassinate King *William*, which was to
 be undertaken and perpetrated beyond Sea: The
 Instruments of this hellish Fact were *Granville*
 and

and *Dumont*, who designed to have done it while the King was at *Loo*; but missing their Opportunity, they followed his Majesty to his Camp in *Flanders*, from whence *Granvile* returned to the *French Army*, and *Dumont*, according to Orders given him, entred into the confederate Army, that he might take his Opportunity when his Majesty went to visit the grand Guard on the Lines, to shoot him in the Back, and then make his Escape to a Body of Horse that *Granvile* and Colonel *Parker*, the chief Contriver of this bloody Design, should have in Readiness to carry him off. But Providence took Care of the Preservation of *Europe* (to use the Words of a late Historian) that so visibly depended upon his Majesty's single Life: Whether *Dumont's* Heart failed him, or his Confederates deserted him, or whatever else was the restraining Cause, he gave over for this Year the accursed Project.

In the mean Time, Preparations are made for *England* an Invasion from *France*. *Lunt*, who had been threatened with an Invasion, and by the *Lancashire* Papists to buy Arms, and French list Men, was sent in *November* into *France*, to Fleet burnt acquaint King *James* they were in a Condition at *LaHogue* to receive him, and therefore desired him to in- 1692. form them when his Affairs would permit him to make a Descent into this Kingdom: He returned in *December* with Answer, that the King would be in *England* next Spring; and afterwards Colonel *Parker* is sent to acquaint the Jacobites here, that their old Master had now obtained of the most Christian King thirty thousand effective Men, which he (King *James*) would be at the Head of in the Spring, and, if these were not sufficient to reduce his Rebel-Subjects, *France* would spare him thirty Thousand more.

In Pursuit of these Measures, King *James* sent over his Declarations, setting forth his Right, inciting People to join him at his Landing, threatening such as opposed him; and, which was more to the Purpose, the *French* King put to Sea a powerful Fleet, engaged the *English*, but was beaten, and most of their best Ships burnt at *La Hogue*, May 23. 1692.

This Disappointment very sensibly struck the Jacobites, as it did their Master, who thereupon wrote a Letter of Condolence and Lamentation to the *French* King, telling him, that he had hitherto with some Constancy supported the Weight of all his Misfortunes, so long as himself was the only Sufferer; but he acknowledged this last Disaster utterly overwhelmed him, in Relation to what concerned his most Christian Majesty, thro' the great Loss that had befallen his Fleet; that he knew too well, that it was *his own unlucky Star* that had drawn this Misfortune upon his Forces, always victorious, but when they fought for his Interests: Therefore, he intreated his most Christian Majesty, to concern himself no longer with one so unfortunate as himself, but permit him to retire with his Family to some Corner of the World, where he might cease to obstruct the usual Course of his most Christian Majesty's Prosperities and Conquests: But the *French Monarch*, constant only in such Service as this, promised never to abandon him, and he found his Party in *England* still ready to encourage and assist him in any further Attempts.

I shall only take Notice of one Effort more, which indeed was their main, and in a Manner, the last Effort, that was any Thing threatening. In 1696. they renew the double Plot of invading the Nation and murdering the King: Several Consultations are held by the Ring-Leaders of the Party,

The Assassination Plot renewed.

Party, for the Management of their Affairs, particularly one in *May 1695*, at the *Old King's Head Tavern*, in *Leaden Hall Street*, London, where met the *Earl of Ailesbury*, the *Lord Montgomery*, *Sir John Friend*, *Sir William Perkins*, *Sir John Fenwick*, *Mr. Charnock*, *Captain Porter*, *Mr. Cook*, and *Mr. Goodman*. There they consulted the best Way to restore the late King; and all agreed, that the most proper Method was, to send a special Messenger to his Majesty, and desire him to procure of the *French King* Ten thousand Men, viz. One thousand Horse, as many Dragoons, and Eight thousand Foot. *Mr. Charnock* was the Person they pitched on to manage this Affair, who said, he would not go on a foolish Errand, and therefore would know what the Company would do, if foreign Forces could be procured. Whereupon they all unanimously promised, That if *King James* would come over with such a Number of Men as was desired, they would meet him at the Head of *Two thousand Horse*, wherever he would appoint them. At the latter End of *June*, they had another Meeting, where, after many Discourses upon the Subject, *Mr. Charnock* received a further Confirmation of their Resolutions, and thereupon took his Journey into *France*.

The Invasion being thus promoted, that the The Con-
Assassination might keep Pace with it, Care was spirators
taken to procure a Commission to the Conspira- get a Com-
tors, to seize the Person of the Prince of *Orange*, mission
who alledge that nothing of that Kind could be from King
attempted, without a Commission from King *James* to
James: This it seems was their Scruple, which murder
Captain *Porter* and *Mr. Goodman* communicated K. William,
to *Sir George Barclay*, who was then in *England*,
and upon his Departure for *France*, telling him
what Difficulties they laboured under, for Want

of a *Commission*, and that a longer Delay of sending it over would certainly put a Stop to the Affair. Sir *George* not only approves, but commends the Design (of assassinating the King) and, that such a hopeful Project might not miscarry, promises to use all his Interest at St. *Germans*, that the *Commission* might no longer be wanting. The Beginning of *August* 1695. brings Mr. *Charnock* again to *London*, with the unwelcome News, that the King of *France* was not in a Condition to spare King *James* so many Men, which being communicated to the Party, the Design was laid aside till Winter.

But, notwithstanding this positive Answer, the *French* at the same Time were taking such Measures as might suit with the Jacobite Request, tho' they durst not trust them with the Secret: Nay, not King *James* himself, till a Squadron of Men of War, and near four hundred Transport Ships were fitted, and the *French* Army consisting of thirty Batalions were ready to embark, and Monney and Directions sent his Majesty to go on Board and take Possession of *England*.

Sir George Barclay comes from France with K. *James's* Commission, and to set forward the Assassination. In *October* 1695. *Sir George Barclay*, who had formerly been a General Officer, and was then in *France* an Officer in King *James's* Guards, came over into *England*, and brought with him the *Commission* mentioned before from the late King, to attack and seize the Prince of *Orange* in his Winter Quarters, or levy War upon the Prince of *Orange* and all his Adherents. And with him, and about the same Time, two and twenty more of King *James's* Guards and Officers who had all Instructions to obey the Orders of *Sir George*, came also into *England*.

Sir George Barclay and his Men being arrived at *London*, they endeavour to strengthen their Party by the Addition of Major *Lowick*, Mr. *Knighly*,

Knightly, Mr. Bertram, Mr. Rookwood, Mr. La Rue, Mr. Goodman, Capt. Porter, Chambers, Durrant, Cranburn, Kendrick, Grimes and Waugh; some of which were engaged in the Assassination the Year before. Those that came from *France* knew not the Particulars of what they were sent about, being kept in a blind Obedience to *Barclay's Orders*; but those in *England* were privy to the whole Design, and though some of them startled at its first being proposed to them, yet the Authority of King *James's* Commission, and their imaginary Prospects of large Rewards at his Return, made them consent to hazard their Lives in it. Several Consultations were held, and several Ways proposed to effect what they aimed at: Some were for seizing his Majesty, and carrying him alive into *France*; and to that Purpose a Faint was made, that a Castle on the Sea Side was secured to detain the King till a Ship was ready to transport him over; but the more wicked among them, that understood what was meant by *seizing the Prince of Orange's Person*, laughed at this as a mere Chimera. Others proposed to kill his Majesty at *Kensington*, by attacking his Guards, and forcing his Palace in the Dead of the Night; but this, upon weighing the Difficulties, was found wholly impracticable.

Others again were for murdering the King, as he came on *Sunday* to *St. James's Chappel*; for which Purpose forty Men well armed were to attack his Majesty's Guards, which before the Discovery of the Plot, did not exceed twenty five, whilst six Men on Foot should shut *Hide-Park Gate*, and the rest assassinate his Majesty. It was proposed also to kill the Coach-Horses, as they were entring into the *Park*; that the Passage being stopt, the Guards might not be able to come up till the *Assassins* had done their Work.

Several
Proposals
how to kill
the King.

Work. Another Proposal was to murder the King as he returned from Hunting, in a narrow Lane, by a Wood-Side, near *Richmond*, leading to the *Thames*, on the other Side of the Water, about a hundred and fifty Paces long, in which there is a Gate, that, when shut, hinders Coaches and Horses from coming that Way. One of the Conspirators was sent to view this Ground, and another to survey the Land above mentioned; but Sir *George Barclay*, the chief Director of this wicked Enterprize, did not approve that Place, and so that Project was also laid aside. At last they all fixt upon a Place between *Turnham Green* and *Brentford*, in a muirish Bottom, where there is a Bridge, and divers Roads that cross one another. On the *North* Side, there is a Road which goes round *Brentford*, and on the *South* a Lane that leads to the River, so that Passengers may come thither several Ways. After you have passed the Bridge, the Road goes narrow; having on one Side a Foot-Path, and on the other a high thick Hedge; here the barbarous Parricide was to be committed; and indeed, all Circumstances considered, a fitter Place could hardly have been found, for his Majesty often returned late from hunting, and usually passed thro' this Lane after his landing at *Queensferry*, with no greater Attendance than five or six of his Guards. It was also his Majesty's Custom to enter the Ferry-Boat in his Coach, and, as soon as he landed on this Side the Water, the Coach drove on without expecting the rest of his Guards, who could not cross the *Thames* till the Boat returned to the *Surrey* Side to bring them over; and so the rest of his Guards could not have come to his Assistance. For this Purpose the Conspirators were divided into three Parties, and were to make their Approaches
three

three several Ways: One of which was to attack the Guards in the Front, the other in the Rear, whilst ten or twelve of the bloodiest amongst them were to assassinate his Majesty in the Coach.

The 15th Day of *February*, was the Day appointed to act this hellish Tragedy, and the Conspirators having long kept two Men at *Kensington* to watch the King's going to hunt, which was commonly every *Saturday*; one of these orderly Men (for so they call them) brought them Word that the King did not go Abroad that Day. This Disappointment was attended with the Fears of a Discovery, and thereupon *Plouden*, *Kendrick* and *Sberburn*, the most timorous of all the Plotters, declined the Action and withdrew themselves; but *Sir George Barclay*, *Sir William Perkins*, *Capt. Porter* and *Mr. Goodman*, concluding the Design was not discovered, from their not being taken up by the Government, they had another Meeting, and there resolved to execute their bloody Project; on *Saturday* the 21st of *February*. That Forenoon was spent in a tedious Expectation of the News, that the King was gone Abroad; but, instead of that Account, *Keys*, one of the orderly Men at *Kensington*, brought Advice, that the Guards were all come back in a Fome, and that there was a Muttering among the People, That a damnable Plot was discovered: This astonishing News alarmed and dispersed all the Conspirators, and drove them to shift for themselves, by a speedy Flight.

Nor was *Keys's* Report, and their Apprehensions groundless; for the Plot, and every Step of it from Time to Time, had been discovered by *Richard Fisher*, and something of it by *Mr. Grimes*, to the Earl of *Portland*. *Fisher* had his Knowledge of it from *Harrison* the Priest, who took

took him to be one of their Party; and *Grimes* had some dark Hints from another; but both refusing to give his Lordship the Names of the Conspirators, little Credit was given to their Informations, till they were confirmed by other Testimonies.

Mr. Pendergrass, who was wholly ignorant of the Design, till he was sent for to *London*, being struck with Horror at the first Proposal of it, even then took up a Resolution to save his Majesty's Life; though, the better to manage his intended Discovery, he seemed willing to engage in the Enterprize. This Gentleman, on the 14th of *February*, at Night, went to the Earl of *Portland*, and, being admitted to Privacy with his Lordship, though wholly a Stranger, without further Address, accosted his Lordship with this surprizing Request: *Pray, my Lord, perswade the King to stay at Home To-morrow; for, if he goes Abroad to hunt, he will be murdered.* The same Night, though late, he was introduced to his Majesty, and discovered the whole Plot; and his whole Deportment shewing him to be a Man of Honour, a great Stress was laid upon his Information. The next Day after, *Mr. De la Rue* made the same Discovery, which he would have done before, but that his Friend *Brigad. Lewson*, who designed to introduce him to the King, was gone out of Town. Upon his Return to *London*, *Brigad. Lewson* acquainted the King, that *Mr. De la Rue* had informed him of a Design carrying on to assassinate his Majesty; and proposed a Way, if the King thought fit, how all the Conspirators might be taken in Arms. *Thomas Pendergrass* and *De la Rue* acted upon a separate Bottom; yet they punctually agreed in all the Circumstances of the Conspiracy, which rendred their Discovery unquestionable: But yet, both

perem-

peremptorily refused to name the Conspirators; which might have been of fatal Consequence, if the Earl of *Portland* had not found the happy Expedient to prevent it, by perswading his Majesty to give himself the Trouble of examining them separately in his Closet. The King having accordingly examined Mr. *Pendergrafs* before the Earl of *Portland*, and the Lord *Cuts*, and Mr. *De la Rue* before the same Earl, and Brigad. *Lewson*, his Majesty shewed himself extremely well satisfied in the Truth of their Discoveries, and in a very obliging Manner expressed his Resentment for their Generosity, in the great Care and Zeal they shewed for the Preservation of his Life, and the Safety of the Kingdom; and at last gave them such unanswerable Reasons; why as Men of Honour, and Lovers of their Country, they should complete their Duty and Affection by naming the Conspirators, as quite overcame their former Unwillingness, and prevailed with them to tell the Names of the *Assassins*, under the Promise of not being made use of as Evidences. But, not many Days after, Mr. *Pendergrafs* hearing that Mr. *Porter*, who engaged him in the Plot, had by an allowable Stratagem been frightened into a Discovery, and accused him, he thought himself discharged from any Obligation of Honour in concealing it, and therefore afterwards came in as an Evidence at *Charnock's* Trial.

Upon this a Proclamation was issued out for apprehending the Conspirators, with the Promise of a thousand Pound Reward for every one that should be taken and brought to Justice: Several came in, confessed the Fact, and made large Discoveries of the Particulars; some fled, and others were taken, and, at the Gallows and Scaffold, received the due Reward of their black and hel-

Execution with Enterprize; most of them died owning and
 of Sir John defending the Crime charged upon them; Sir
 Friend.

John Friend declared he firmly believed the Cause he suffered for was the Cause of God and true Religion; and, among other Things, prayed, *That God would deliver this sinful Nation from the Guilt of Rebellion, Blood and Perjury; comfort the distressed King, restore him to his Right, and his misse Subjects to their Allegiance; that he would bless his Royal Consort, and his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and grant that he might grow in Stature and in Favour with God and Man.* And in the like Sentiments and Temper died *Sir William Perkins*; and yet both of these Gentlemen were absolved at the Place of Execution by *Mr. Jeremy Collier*, (a Non-juring Clergyman of the Church of *England*) and two others, who used the Form of Absolution in the Office for the Visitation of the Sick; and to add the greater Solemnity to it, accompanied the Absolution with *Imposition of Hands*, for which they were deservedly censured by the Bishops.

And thus another Plot, as horrid as could well enter into the Minds of Men, was happily and seasonably defeated: And herein *England, Britain, Europe*, again delivered—*Hitherto the Lord has helped us!*

It exceedingly added to the Mortification of the *Tories* and *Jacobites*, that the Year after, 1697. at the Peace of *Ryswick*, the *French* King was forced to abandon his Dependant, King *James*, notwithstanding he had openly declared, he would never lay down his Arms till he had restored him to his Throne. This strangely dejects the disappointed Prince, and left him no other Relief than to appeal to the World in a Manifesto, containing the Reasons that should engage the confederate Catholick Princes to promote

mote his Restoration, and Expostulation of the Injustice done him, and a Protestation against what was done at *Ryswick*, as null in respect to the Violation of his Rights.

But neither King *James* nor his Friends yet gave up the Cause, still they are waiting their Opportunity, and hatching Mischief: No sooner had the Peace opened a free Passage between *England* and *France*, but the Government received Information, that the Duke of *Berwick*, Sir *George Barclay, Harrison, Durant*, Col. *Parker*, and several other suspicious Persons were come over upon treasonable Designs, and a Proclamation was issued out for apprehending them, promising the Reward of a thousand Pounds for each: This was in 1697. and 1699. upon disbanding the Army, the Papists and other *Jacobites* grew exceeding insolent, which put the House of Commons upon an Address to the King; wherein they take Notice of the great Concourse of the Papists, and other disaffected Persons to the City; of their keeping Horses and Arms contrary to Law; their resorting near the two Houses of Parliament, and even the Royal Palaces; adding, That they had certain Information of great Numbers of Popish Priests and Jesuits, endeavouring to pervert his Majesty's Subjects; that they imported great Quantities of Popish Books: They conclude, desiring effectual Care may be taken to suppress them. And thus they go on, pursuing such Kind of Work, through all Discouragement.

The next Year, 1701. it pleased God to re-K. *James's* move out of the World the abdicated Monarch, ^{Death,} for whose Restoration they had sickled long; ^{1701.} being broken with Resentment and Sorrow, he fell into a Lethargy, and died at *St. Germans, September 6th, O. S.* But the Cause did not die with him:

Pretender
proclaim'd
in France.

King Wil-
liam's last
Speech.

him : No sooner is the Father dead, but *his pretended Son set up in his Stead*, and publickly proclaimed by Order of *Lewis XIV.* King of *England, Scotland and Ireland*; which, as may well be supposed, was resented by the great King *William*, (and indeed by the whole Nation) in a very sensible Manner, and put him upon some vigorous Resolutions; and whereas the present Parliament had shown themselves no Way fit to be depended upon in this extraordinary Juncture, the King was prevailed with to dissolve it, and call another, which met *October 31. 1701.* when his Majesty made that memorable Speech, that proved his last, and is justly esteemed to exceed all that ever came from the Throne,

‘ Owing, says he, and setting up the *pretended Prince of Wales for King of England*, is not only the highest Indignity offered to me and the Nation, but does so nearly concern every Man who has a Regard for the Protestant Religion, or the present and future Happiness of his Country, that I need not press you to lay it seriously to Heart, and to consider what further effectual Means may be used for securing the Succession in the Protestant Line, and extinguishing the Hopes of all Pretenders, and their open and secret Abettors. He adds,—

‘ You have yet an Opportunity, by the Blessing of God, to secure to you and your Posterity the quiet Enjoyment of your Religion and Liberties, if you are not wanting to yourselves, but will exert the ancient Vigour of the *English Nation*: But, I tell you plainly, my Opinion is, *if you do not lay hold on this Occasion*, you have no Reason to hope for another.’

None that know the State and Posture of Affairs at that Time; what In-roads the *French King*

King had made upon the *Dutch*; that he had added the *Spanish* Monarchy to his own Dominions, and had provided (as far as he could) to fill the *British* Throne with one of his own Creatures, will wonder at the Zeal and Warmth of this Speech: The vigilant Prince foresaw the Storm approaching, and thought himself obliged to give a solemn Warning, as he had from the same Precaution taken Measures beyond Seas for the publick Safety, concluding several Alliances, (with the States-General, the Emperor, &c.) Indeed nothing was omitted by him he thought necessary to preserve the Liberties of *Europe*; but he had not Leave to prosecute any of his great Designs; his Indisposition kept him in *Holland* longer than was intended, and when he came back he found his Strength so sensibly impaired, that he told the Earl of *Portland* he did not expect to live another Summer, charging his Lordship, at the same Time, to keep it secret till he was dead: On the 21st of *February* he got a Fall from his Horse, and broke his Collar-Bone; and, on the 8th of *March* 1701-2. died, to the inexpressible Grief of all true Lovers of their Country and Religion.

The *Jacobites* not only triumph in his Death, it being the Revival of their Hopes; but show their Spite to that Degree of Indecency, as in their Clubs to drink Healths to *Sorrel*, the Horse from which his Majesty fell; and some of them went so far as to celebrate the Praises of the *Brute*, and even canonize their Brother in a * *Latin* Epigram, which if it have any Wit in it, has a great deal more Malice:

A a

But

* *Illustris Sonipes certe dignissime Caelo;
Cui Leo, cui Tauris, cui dabit Ursa locum.
Quæ te felicem, felicia prata tulere
Uber quæ felix præbuit Alma Parens.*

Hh

The glori-
ous Success
of Queen
Anne's
Arms.

But the Hopes of the Party were not a little dashed, when they saw the Queen resolved to pursue the Measures of the late King; to confirm the Alliance he had entred into, and to carry on the War according to the *excellent Plan* he had left; which he did with such a Series of Successes for eight Campaigns together, under the Conduct of the Great *Marlborough*, that no History can paralel: Every Year extended her Majesty's Conquests, and humbled the *French* Monarch to that Degree, that he was reduced to the Condition of begging Peace; and, instead of imposing Kings on his Neighbours, was glad to compound for his own Dominions, which was well enough expressed in an Inscription in one of their *Piramidal Illuminations*, on Occasion of a publick Rejoicing,

*As threatening Spain did to Eliza bow,
So France and Spain shall do to Anna now:
France that protects false Claims to'another's
[Throne,
Shall find enough to do to keep her own.*

And in this State things continue till the Year 1710. when a Scene opened that was the Surprize and Amazement of the greatest Part of *Europe*, but is now perfectly well understood to be, what Multitudes before thought, a *Plot in favour of the Pretender*. The Particulars of this strange Event, I cannot pretend to give in the Close of a short History, and therefore shall leave

*Hibernis Patriam venisti ultoris, ab Oris;
Aut Glenca, aut stirps te Fœniciana dedit. * Fenwicks.
Sis felix quicunque præcor, Memorande nec unquam,
Jam Sella Dorsum, fræna nec ora præmant.
Humani generis Vindex, Moriente Tyranno,
Hanc Libertatem quam dabis, ipse tene.*

leave the fuller Account to Sir R——d S——'s *Folio* in several Languages: However, as they directly concern the present Subject, and must be esteemed the blackest Tragedy we have yet met with, I must by no Means wholly pass them over.

There had been, before this Time, (to look a little back) several Attempts of the *Jacobite* ^{*Jacobites Plot.*} Party, to restore, as they call it, their King (*i. e.*) to set up the Pretender: Her Majesty, in her Speech to the Parliament, *October 17. 1703.* tells them, *She had unquestionable Informations of very ill Practices and Designs, carried on in Scotland by Emissaries from France, which might have proved extremely dangerous to the Peace of these Kingdoms:* And, on the 22d of March following, the Lords, upon the Examination of the Matter, resolved it did appear to them, there had been a dangerous Conspiracy carried on, for raising a Rebellion in *Scotland*, and invading that Kingdom with a *French* Power: Mr. Lock—t remarks here, that notwithstanding the Lords were so clear (in the Business of a Plot) there ^{*Memoirs of Scotland,*} was not one unbiassed Person that did not see it ^{*p. 92.*} was all Trick and Villany; which is certainly a Censure free enough for a Gentleman, when by his own Confession, plotting one Way or another, was the constant Trade of the Party, and the Queen and House of Lords thought they had sufficient Evidence of *this Plot.*

In 1705. while the Union between the two Kingdoms was negotiating, the Party invite over the Pretender, and solicit *France* to make an Invasion; the Author of the *Memoirs* just now ^{*p. 196.*} mentioned, takes Notice, 'That the *Treaty* (of ^{*Plots a-*} *Union*) being brought to its Commencement, ^{*gainst the*} 'the Temper and Disposition of the *Scots Na-* ^{*Government in*} 'tion was very much towards the (pretended) ^{*Scotland.*} 'King; and that the Interest of the distressed

' *Royal Family*, encreased very much in the
 ' Kingdom; Accounts of which were from Time
 ' Time transmitted to the *French King*, who
 ' seemed to be in Earnest to do something for our
 ' Royal Family's Interest; and, for this End,
 ' dispatched one *Hooks*, who arrived at *Edinburgh*
 ' in the Month of *August*, or thereby, 1706. with
 ' Letters from the *French King* and King *James*,
 ' to the Duke of *Hamilton*, the E— of E—l,
 ' the E— M—l, and E— of H——me, ex-
 ' horting them to stand up for the Interest of the
 ' distressed Royal Family, and promising to as-
 ' sist the Scots (his dearly beloved and ancient
 ' Allies) in so good a Design as restoring their
 ' King to his Thrones; empowering *Hooks* to
 ' receive Proposals, and desiring him to send
 ' over to *France*, one fully instructed to treat
 ' and conclude with him for that Effect: The
 ' *Cavaliers* told him, they were willing to do
 ' every Thing that could in Reason be demand-
 ' ed of them, for advancing the King's Service,
 ' and would, as they were desired, send over
 ' one in a little Time, to confer with King *James*
 ' and the King of *France*; with which Answer
 ' he (*Hooks*) returned to *France*: Accordingly
 ' they sent over Capt. *Henry St——n*, being a
 ' Person of entire Honour and Honesty, and e-
 ' very Way qualified for such an Employment.
 ' The Captain waited some Time for Mr. *L—t*'s
 ' Return from the Treaty (he being one of the
 ' Commissioners) which was about the latter
 ' End of *July* 1706. Besides what concern-
 ' ed the Treaty, Mr. *L——t* also acquainted
 ' him, that he had pumped the *Tories* in *Eng-*
 ' *land*, to know what they would do in case the
 ' King came over, particularly had found Means
 ' to understand the D—— of L——s the
 ' L—— G——ll, and found that the *English*
 ' *Tories*

Tories were much more cautious than the *Scots*, they being of Opinion that no Attempts were to be made during Queen *Anne's* Life: However, the Captain sails for *France*, and was kindly received, but could bring nothing to a Conclusion. The Battles of *Ramelies* and *Turin* had so disconcerted the King's Measures, that he was not in a Capacity to afford either Men or Money at that Time for our King's Service, notwithstanding King *James* told him, that he longed extremely to be among his *Scots* Friends, and obliged him to give in Writing, and signed, a Character of every Man in the *Scots* Parliament, as they stood affected to him, and were capable to serve him, and then he was dismissed with fair Promises from the *French* King, of doing all that could be expected at another Time; and with Letters from King *James* to the Duke of *H——n*, *E—— of E——l*, *E—— of M——l* and *U——st*. And thus, says he, these two Negotiations came to no Effect at this Time. In the Interim, the Peoples Inclinations towards King *James* still encreased, and his Interest prevailed *more and more* over all the Kingdom.

In the Year 1708. upon concluding the U-^{The Pre-}nion, the enraged *Jacobites* openly declare ^{tender in-} themselves for the *Pretender*, and attempt to set ^{vades Scot-} him upon the *British* Throne: To which Pur-^{land.}pose they encouraged him to invade the Kingdom, as he actually did with a considerable Force. This was, as I said, upon the Union; and that the Reader may know what Influence the Union had in the Affair, he need only reflect, that there was nothing the whole *Jacobite* Faction *bad more at Heart* than the Union, *i. e.* nothing they hated more (which henceforth

The Jacobites violently oppose the Union.

must be looked upon one Sense, if not the only proper Sense of that Phrase) for whilst the Scots had not yet fallen in with the *English* Settlement in the House of *Hanover*, they thought they had still a Door open for the *Pretender*, for whom they had reserved the Crown: And hence they rise up with the utmost Clamour on every Motion that was made, and Step that was taken for the accomplishing the Union; they cry out of the Treaty itself, *as a betraying the Liberties of their Country*; protest against all that was done from Time to Time, and oppose it with Might and Main. The famous *Author of the Memoirs* (who was in all the Intreagues of the Faction, and who has, against his Will, exposed them to the World) having taken Notice that the Act for a Treaty of Union was voted and approved, makes this Reflection, *From this Day, says he, may we date the Commencement of Scotland's Ruin.*

When the Articles agreed upon by the Commissioners, came to be debated in the *Scots* Parliament, they not only wrangle and protest against every Article themselves, but stir up all they could throughout the Kingdom to petition and protest, and do every Thing that might obstruct the dreaded Union: And when at last they saw these Methods were ineffectual, they resolve to make use of another Sort of Arguments, and by an armed Force hinder the Proceedings of the Parliament: 'To which Purpose, says the *Memoirs*, one *Cunningham of Eckert*, being disgusted, and taking the Ruin of his Country mightily to Heart, undertook to head many Thousands of the Malecontents, who were to march to *Edinburgh*, and dispute the Articles of the Union with Sword in Hand; and he brought Matters to such a Consistency (adds
my

my Author, that, provided concerted Measures had been kept, *he had raised the Parliament with a Vengeance!* Mr. Cunningham's chief Interests, as the Memoirs represents it, lay in the *Western Shires*, where he had discoursed great Numbers, and found them to be of Opinion with himself, *That there was no Way to save the Nation, but first by raising the Parliament, and then declaring for King James.* My Author makes a Question of it, Whether this Gentleman was a *Court-Spy*, or in Earnest? But at the same Time declares his Opinion that he was sincere. I know the Major (*Cunningham*) has owned a great deal of the Matter of Fact, but alledges, what he undertook was for the Service of the Government, and accordingly he acquainted some great Men then in the Administration with all that passed.

This Project being disappointed (and my Author imputes it to Duke *Hamilton*, who did not think fit at that Time to venture in it) another Stratagem was made use of to undermine the Union, if possible, which was proposed by Duke *Hamilton*. The Parliament having advanced to the twenty second Article of the Union, *the Duke* convened a great Number of those that had opposed the Union, and pathetically exhorted them not to look back upon what might be *Memoirs*, thought done amiss by any, but to go forwards, *pag. 293.* *now at the last Hour*, to do something to save the Nation, just come to the Brink of Ruin: To which, after all present had declared their cheerful Concurrence, tho' the Consequence should be never so fatal, his Grace proposed, that the Marquis of *An——le* should renew his Motion of *proceeding to settle the Crown in the House of Hanover*; and as it was not to be questioned the same would be rejected, that a Pro-

testation would be entred, and adhered to by all that were against the Union, who should, in a Body together, immediately after, make a Separation from the other Members. *by leaving the House, not to return again.* After some Consideration, the Party eagerly came into this Measure; only one Thing stuck with them, their mentioning their having been willing to settle the Succession on the House of *Hanover*, which they said was a Kind of an Obligation to make their Refuge to that Family, &c. whereas their Design was, *and ever had been*, to preserve the Nation, and at the same Time *to restore the King to the Throne*, which they thought the present Temper of the People would very much advance. To which the Duke of *Hamilton* returned, that it could draw no Obligation upon them to adhere to the Interest of the House of *Hanover*, since they did not protest against the Motion's being rejected, the Narrative only bearing the true Matter of Fact, *viz.* That such a Proposal had actually been made; and even supposing it was otherwise, it was not the first Time they had made *greater Stretches*, with a Design that Good might come of it; and he hoped this would be the last, which (as sorry a Pretence as it was) brought over the whole

Page 324. Party, who impatiently waited for the Execution of the Project; insomuch, that great Numbers of Gentlemen and eminent Citizens flocked together that Morning (when the Protest was to be made) about the Parliament-House, *to convey the separating Members*—— But it seems the Duke again failed them; at first he excused himself from attending the House that Day, on the Account of the Tooth-ach; but, being shamed out of that Pretence, makes his Appearance. When he came to Parliament, he asked his Friends that were upon the Concert, who

who they had pitched upon to enter the Pro-
 testation: They told him, none so fit as his
 Grace, being a Person of the first Quality, and
 most Interest in the Nation, begging he would
 lead them on *at this Time*, and assuring him
 they would stand by him with their Lives and
 Fortunes; but nothing would do, he still persist-
 ing in his Resolution not to be the Presenter of it,
 tho' he swore he would be the first Adherer, and
 so much Time was spent in wrangling upon this
 Point, that the Opportunity was lost. What in-
 fluenced the Duke thus to change his Mind, my
 Author is uncertain, but he observes that this
 created that Dryness between him and the Ca-
 valiers, that for the Future no other Measure
 was concerted, and every one did that which
 was right in his own Eyes, so that an happy
 Despair henceforth seized the Party. The U-
 nion is presently brought to Perfection, approv-
 ed and ratified by the *British* Parliament, and
commenced on the First of May, 1707. A Day,
says the Memoirs, never to be forgot by Scot-
land; a Day in which the Scots were stripped of
what their Predecessors had gallantly maintained
for many hundred Years. I mean, their Indepen-
dency and Sovereignty: But he should have said,
 which no doubt was the true and greatest Griev-
 ance, that it was *a Day* in which the Jacobites
 (who had been so long projecting the Enslaving
 and Ruin of their Country) were stripped of their
 fond and pernicious Hopes, and a strong Barri-
 er was seasonably formed against a Popish Pre-
 tender.

The Party being exceedingly provoked at ^{The Pre-}these Disappointments, resolve once for all to ^{tender in-}make a *home Push* for it, and accordingly hasten ^{vades}over their Master. The Writer of the Memoirs ^{Scotland,}tells us, that Matters were concerted in ^{1707-8,}Scotland
 for

for this Purpose by *Hooks*, mentioned before, who produced Letters, one from the King, *i. e.* the Pretender, and another from the French King, being his Credentials, and empowering him to treat with the People of Scotland about the King's Restoration, and to recover the Nation's Sovereignty and ancient Privileges. Besides these Letters, he produced a long Paper, containing several Queries drawn by *Monsieur de Torcy*, relating to the Number of Men that could be raised in Scotland, and the Number of Men, Sum of Money, Arms, &c. necessary to be sent from France. These Queries were distinctly answered in a Paper transmitted to France, in which they give a full Account of the State of Affairs, represent the strong Inclinations of the People to venture all for the King's Service, and earnestly intreat him to come over as soon as possible: The Paper was signed by about fifteen or sixteen Noblemen and Gentlemen, whose Names (most of them) may be found in the Author.

Upon this Encouragement, and from some advantageous Change in the Posture of his Affairs, the French King embarks in the Cause of the Pretender, and seems more in earnest than ever before, not only by equipping a Fleet for his Service, but furnishing him with all Necessaries for his Expedition, as Men, Money, fine Tents, a great deal of Gold and Silver, Plate of curious Workmanship, Clothes for his future Life-Guards, Liveries for his Household; and it is said, the Day before the Pretender left *St. Germain's*, to go for *Dunkirk*, from whence he was to embark, *Monsieur* went to take leave of him, and wish him Success, and presenting him with a Sword enriched with Diamonds of a considerable Value, desired him always to remember, *It was a French*
Sword

Sword. The *Knight of St. George*, for that was the Name he assumed in this Adventure, answered the Complement, with assuring his *most Christian Majesty*, that if it was his good Fortune to get Possession of the Throne of his Ancestors, he would not content himself with returning him Thanks by Letters and Ambassadors, but would shew his Gratitude by Deeds, and come in Person to acknowledge his Majesty's Protection and Assistance: To which the King replied, *He hoped never to see him again.*

After such Preparations as these, little seemed to remain, as they now thought, but to divide the Spoil. What Expectations the *French King* had from the Undertaking, may in Part appear from his *Circular Letter* to his Ministers in *Rome*, *Switzerland*, *Geneva*, and other neutral Places, which I shall here subjoin. 'I have long been
' of Opinion, that *the assisting the King of Eng-*
' land to possess the Throne of his Ancestors,

' would be for the *general Good* of all *Europe*.
' I believe that Peace would be the Consequence
' of its Success, and that the Prince's Subjects
' will esteem themselves equally happy, in con-
' tributing to re-establish him in the Place of his
' Predecessors, and in being themselves deliver-
' ed from those continual Impositions wherewith
' they are overwhelmed, to maintain a War al-
' together foreign to them.'

' As the *Scots* have yet more Reason than the
' *English* to be dissatisfied with the present Go-
' vernment of *England*, it appears to me a con-
' venient Opportunity to restore to that Nation
' their lawful Sovereign, and to enable the Prince
' to deliver it from the Oppression it has suffered
' since the *Revolution*, which happened under
' the late King of *England*, *James II.*

' These

‘ These are the Reasons which have determined me to equip a Squadron of my Ships at *Dunkirk*, and to furnish the King of *England* with a considerable Number of my Troops, to accompany him to *Scotland*, to support those his faithful Subjects who shall declare for him.’

‘ He left this Place Yesterday to go to *Dunkirk*, in order to embark, and get with all Expedition to *Scotland*: His Intention is not to enter the Kingdom *by Right of Conquest*, but to oblige them to receive him as *legal Possessor* of it. He will behave himself in like Manner with Respect to all his other Dominions, who shall pay the Obedience they owe him; and his Subjects will only be distinguished according to the Zeal and Affection they shew for him, without examining what Religion they profess, in which he leaves them to their entire Liberty.’

‘ I have not thought of enlarging my Power by assisting to re-establish this Prince; it is sufficient that I do an Act of *Justice*, in vindicating the Honour of crowned Heads, highly affronted in the Person of the late King, his Father; and my Wishes will be entirely accomplished, if, by God’s Blessing on my Endeavours, the Success become the Means of procuring a lasting Peace, so necessary to all *Europe*.’

‘ As this Resolution of mine will soon spread it self thro’ all *Europe*, my Will is, that you speak of it in the Manner I direct you.’

Given at *Versailles* this 8th Day of
March, 1708.

Nor did the *Father* of the Church come behind his *eldest Son*, in a Concern for so glorious a Cause, but shewed his Zeal, not only in contributing

tributing to the Charge of this Expedition, but (which was as much in his Way) appointed publick Prayers of forty Hours in the *English, Scott* and *Irish* Churches for its Success, and granted Indulgences to such as would lend a charitable Hand, and devoutly join in putting up those Prayers.

The *Knight* being thus provided with Men, Money, and the Pope's Blessing, sets forward in Pursuit of his Crown, sailing from *Dunkirk* on Board the *French* Fleet, commanded by Count de *Fourbin*, March 19. N. S. of which he gave his Friends Notice by Mr. *Cha. Fleming*, Brother to the Earl of *Wigton*, whom, says Mr. *Lock—t*, he dispatched to *Scotland* for that Purpose, and with him sent Instructions how they were to behave, and particularly desiring them not to stir till they were sure he was landed, and that then they should secure all the Horses, Money, Arms and Provisions of such as were not well affected to him, and even their Persons, if possible. Mr. *Fleming* was further ordered to cause Pilots to meet him at the Mouth of the *Firth of Forth*, and guide his Fleet up the same, he being resolved to land at the South Side thereof, at or about *Dumbar*, and how welcome the News were in *Scotland*, the Memoirs intimates, which says, 'That nothing was to be heard there but Prayers for a lucky Voyage; and when the Time drew near, most People slipped privately out of *Edinburgh* to the Country, to prepare themselves for joining the King.'

In the mean Time, the Government of *England* having Intelligence of the Design, and the Preparations, omits nothing that was thought necessary to disappoint the Enemy, and ward off the Blow. Ten Batalions are sent for from *Holland*,

Holland, which under Convoy of Admiral *Baker*, embarked at *Ostend*, *March* 28. N. S. and in three Days arrived at *Tinmouth*. A considerable Fleet was fitted out under the Command of Sir *George Bing*, consisting of twenty three *British* Ships, three *Dutch* Men of War, and one *British* Fire-Ship, which first sailed towards *Dunkirk*, to observe the Enemies Motions; and afterwards being reinforced to the Number of above forty Men of War of the Line of Battle, besides Frigats and Fire-Ships, pursued the *French* Fleet to the Coasts of *Scotland*, and coming up with them before they could land any of their Forces, utterly spoiled the Project: The Memoirs gives this Account of the Matter. 'The *French* Fleet, says the Author, arrived in 'the *Firth of Forth*, *Friday March* 12. O. S. 'where at Night they dropped Anchor, design- 'ing next Morning to have sailed up the River 'and landed, but perceiving the *English* Fleet 'was come upon them, they immediately cut 'their Anchors, and having a good Breeze of 'Wind, stood out to the Ocean, and so made a 'Shift to get away with their *Champion*, and all his 'Treasure, except one Ship, the *Salisbury*, which 'was taken by the *English*, with the Lord *Griffin*, 'the Earl of *Middleton*'s two Sons, &c. on Board.'

And thus another Storm was blown over, and the Friends of the Nation left to adore the divine Providence in their Deliverance, and what abundant Reason they had to do so, may be inferred in Part from what the Author, so often mentioned before, observes, viz. 'That the Consternation (upon the Invasion) was so general, that 'the publick Credit gave way to that Degree, 'and there came such a Demand of Money upon 'the *Bank*, that had the News of Sir *George Bing*'s chasing the *French* off the *Scots* Coast, come

‘ come a Day later, it had broke and been shut
 ‘ up, and with it the Credit of the Government,
 ‘ which alone, adds he, was a sufficient Com-
 ‘ pensation for all the Expence the *French* were
 ‘ at. Elsewhere, he tells us, that an Air of Jolli-
 ‘ ty and Satisfaction was to be observed in every
 ‘ Person’s Face, on this Occasion, except such as
 ‘ were deeply dipt in the Revolution, who were
 ‘ in the greatest Terror and Confusion.’ And in
 another Place, speaking of the Complaint of the
 General, the Lord *Leven*, that the Tories were
 upish, he adds, ‘ Uppish they were indeed, ex-
 ‘ pecting soon to have an Occasion of repaying
 ‘ him and his Fellow Rebels, in the same Coin,
 ‘ he and they had treated them, for these twenty
 ‘ Years past.’ And none can doubt this was their
 Expectation, but their Triumph was but for a
 Moment; God was pleased again to disappoint
 our Friends Fears and Enemies Hopes; in a few
 Days their Countenances fell, and they remain-
 ed pining at the Nations Deliverance; *Hitherto*
the Lord helped us.

I am now to return to the Subject I have a little
 diverted from, the *Annus Mirabilis* (1710.) and the strange Revolution then brought about, at the least begun, which tho’ I shall not pretend to de-
 scribe in all its Particulars, as I said, I must how-
 ever touch upon, that I may continue the horrid
 Story to the present Time.

The fatal
 Change in
 the Queen’s
 Counsels
 and Mea-
 sures,
 1710.

I have already hinted in how happy a State
 this Year found the Nation; the *Union* of the
 two Kingdoms (that difficult, hazardous, and
 yet important Affair) concluded after many for-
 mer Attempts had came to nothing: The *French*
 Power reduced, and the haughty Monarch put
 out of a Condition of annoying his Neighbours:
 The Protestant Succession secured by a Variety of
 wise Laws, and strengthened by the Guaranty of
 our

out best Allies; and indeed as our Enemies had hitherto been remarkably baffled in all their Conspiracies, their very Hopes seemed now utterly to perish.

While on a sudden, as if some *malevolent Planet* had influenced her Counsels, or some hostile *Damon* had possessed her Counsellors, *Britain* gives up all her Advantages, betrays her Securities, and delivers herself into the Hands of her worst Enemies; and, to raise them, ruined herself. A Writer of some Fame, speaking of the four last Years of the late Ministry, thus expresses himself, 'Not one bright Day, says he, to be seen in *England* for that Time (*i. e.* four Years) but the whole *Hemisphere* of *British* Affairs was veiled under the blackest Cloud: The Sun of Prosperity has shined very clear on the *French* and *Spanish* Horizon: Their Vines and Figs have been ripened by the warm Beams sent forth to them, from the Senate-House and Council-Chamber at *London*; our Cold and Darkness, and their Heat and Light proceeded

The Sense of the Parliament had of the late Ministry's Conduct. 'from thence.' And what Sense the Commons of *Britain* have of the Conduct of Affairs at that Time, may be learned from their late Impeachment of the Lords and others taken at *Preston*, 'Whereas, say they, for many Years past, a most wicked Design and Contrivance has been formed and carried on, to subvert the ancient and established Government, and good Laws of these Kingdoms, to extirpate the true Protestant Religion, and to destroy its Professors; and instead thereof to introduce and settle Popery and arbitrary Power. In which wicked Conspiracy great Numbers of Persons of different Qualities have concerned themselves, and many Protestants pretending an uncommon Zeal for the Church of *England*, have united their

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‘ Endeavours to accomplish the aforesaid wicked Designs——— Since the Settlement of the Crown of these Realms in the *illustrious House of Hanover*, the said Conspirators have been indefatigable in their Endeavours to destroy the same, and to make way for the vain and groundless Hopes of a *spurious Impostor* and Popish Pretender, to the Imperial Crown of these Realms, and to accomplish these Ends, the most unchristian and irregular Methods have been taken, *but more particularly in the last Years of the late Queen Anne.*’

And in their Preamble to the Land-Tax Bill of the last Session, they take Notice, ‘ That all the Mischiefs, Burdens and Calamities, which shall attend *this horrid Rebellion*, are in Truth owing to fatal and pernicious Counsels given by some Persons in the late Male-Administration, when under Pretence of procuring Peace Abroad, the present destructive War was projected to be brought into the very Bowels of our native Country at Home, when a *Popish Army* was designed to be the Protector of our Holy Religion,’ &c.

But I am sensible there need no Authorities to prove, what all the World now sees, *viz.* that the Measures *then pursued* were calculated on Purpose to subvert the *Act of Settlement*, and make way for the *Pretender* : *This was the Plot* ; the Reader will excuse me if I trace it thro’ its several Steps, and take Notice how it began and was carried on; for how much soever this may seem to ly out of my Way at other Times, at present it falls directly in it.

The several Steps of the late Plot in favour of the Pretender. I. We must reckon the *Change of the Ministry*, and Dissolution of the Parliament as the first Step. What Influence Dr. *Sacheverell's* Sermon had upon this Change, whether it was done by Concert, or the Man only spoke out of the Abundance of his own Heart, I shall not take upon

The *Change of the Ministry.*

me to conjecture; but it is plain it was greedily laid hold of, by one that stood behind the Curtain, watching his Opportunity to accomplish the Mischief he had devised: And it is as plain the *Tour* the Incendiary afterwards took up and down the Country to receive the Homage of the Mob, contributed not a little towards making a Parliament for the present Purpose, which indeed was chosen (in many Places) by mere Violence and Fury, and may properly go by the Name of *Sachaverell's and the Mob's Parliament*, if it be fit to distinguish the Head from the Body; the Parliament and the Ministry being † changed,

† The Change was not all at once, but so much was done the first Year as showed they were resolved to go thro' with their Work. *June 14, 1710*, the Earl of *Sunderland* was turned out, and Earl of *Dartmouth* made Secretary of State in his Room: *August 8*, Lord *Godolphin* the Treasurer lost his Place, and was succeeded by the Earl of *Oxford*. *Sept. 21*. that consummate Statesman the Lord *Sommers*, was removed from being President of the Council, and the Earl of *Rocheſter* (whom some remember to have been one of King *James's* Ecclesiastical Commissioners) put in his Place: Another Ecclesiastical Commissioner, the Duke of *Buckingham* was made Steward of the Household, instead of that Noble Patriot the Duke of *Devonshire*. *Sept. 27*. *Henry St. John*, afterwards Lord *Bollingbroke*, was made Secretary of State in the Room of Mr. *Boyle*. *Sept. 29*. Mr. *Walpole* was displaced from being Secretary of War, and succeeded by Mr. *Granville*. *Octob. 19*. the Duke of *Ormond* was made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* in the Room of Lord *Wharton*, and at the same Time Sir *Simon Harcourt* was made Lord Keeper in the Room of the Lord *Cowper*, and *Constantine Phips Esq;* made Lord Chancellor of *Ireland*; the following Year the Lord *Townshend* was turned out, and the Duke of *Marlborough*, *Decem. 30*. removed from all his Places, and the Duke of *Ormond* made Capt. General in his Room: The Duke of *Argyle* was likewise turned out of all his Employments, and the famous Earl of *Mar* made Secretary of State.

a Foundation was laid for all that was designed, and Tools prepared (or at least preparing) for any Work to be done; and what Work they had to do, the Change itself sufficiently intimated, it being the grand distinguishing Principle of the former and later Ministry, (that which was now to be laid aside, and that chosen in its stead) that the one was *inviolably attached to the House of Hanover*, and the other had a *squint Eye* to a different Quarter, and have since discovered several of them at least in the highest Trust, that they were deep in the Interest of the Pretender. Any one that has read the *Scots Memoirs*, and observes how great a Correspondent and Confident the Duke of *H———n* was of the Pretender's, will easily understand the Meaning of it, that he should not only be made Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Lancaster*, but be pitched upon towards the Close of the last Reign, as Ambassador to the Court of *France*.

But I leave the Reader to his own Reflections here, and shall only observe how much this Turn of Affairs revived the Hopes of our Enemies both at Home and Abroad, which is so well expressed in a Letter from a Minister of the Elector of *Bavaria's* at *Versailles* to his Master, *October 18. 1710.* that I think it worth while to transcribe, and here insert it. It is as follows:

THE King has received certain Advice to A Letter
 Day, that the *Parliament* of *England* is of the Elec-
dissolved, and that the projected Change of the tor of *Ba-*
 Ministry will go on. His Majesty did not de- *varia's* Mi-
 fer one Moment to give me Notice of it, that nister upon
 I might acquaint your *Electoral Highness* with of the Mi-
 it. It is certain the Proclamation for a new nistry.
 Parliament and the general Change of the Mi-
 nistry, will give great Uneasiness to the *Dutch*;

‘ and make them think of Peace, *but this Court*
 ‘ *will not give into it.*

‘ There is no doubt also, but the Duke of
 ‘ *Marlborough* will quit the Command of the
 ‘ Army, because the prevailing Party will leave
 ‘ him unprovided of every Thing, to force him
 ‘ to it.

‘ It is believed the Princes of *Germany* will
 ‘ recall their Troops as soon as *England* fails to
 ‘ pay them the usual Subsidies, and this is what
 ‘ they extremely fear in *Holland*.

‘ The King sets all Hands at Work to find
 ‘ out Funds, that he may be able to continue
 ‘ the War; the Court being of Opinion that the
 ‘ *Opportunity is now come*, and that good Use
 ‘ ought to be made of *this favourable* Conjunction,
 ‘ it being impossible that the Allies should
 ‘ continue united, after what we have now seen
 ‘ in *England*.

‘ Who is there they can put at the Head of
 ‘ their Army, if the Duke of *Marlborough* quits
 ‘ the Command? I cannot see there is one in *Eng-*
 ‘ *land* proper to fill the Place; for, besides that
 ‘ he should be a good Officer, he should also be
 ‘ a Man of the Cabinet, who may have Credit
 ‘ and Authority with the Allies, which they will
 ‘ not find in any other Person, except the Duke
 ‘ of *Marlborough*: The Duke of *Hanover*, if
 ‘ he should accept of the Command, could not
 ‘ be upon a Foot to agree with Prince *Eugene*:
 ‘ Thus we are going absolutely to see a *new Face*
 ‘ of *Affairs*: Your Highness will please to give
 ‘ me your Commands, in what Manner you think
 ‘ it proper for me to speak to the King upon this
 ‘ Affair, and what are your Thoughts of the
 ‘ Duke of *Hanover*’s Person.

‘ The Duke of *Berwick*, who was informed
 ‘ a good while ago, that *this Change would be*
 ‘ *made*

'made, writ to Monsieur de Torcy, to beg him
 'to represent to the King, that *this* would be
 'the *right Time* to attempt a Descent, not in
 'Scotland but in *England*, and that he would
 'be glad to put himself at the Head of Twenty
 'thousand Men, to carry the King of *England*
 'thither with certain Success. This, Sir, is all
 'that I can have the Honour to acquaint your
 'Highness with by this Post. I earnestly wish
 'that these *great Changes* may bring us to those
 'great Ends we hope from them, and that God
 'will so favour the just Cause of your Highness,
 'that you may soon see the Pride of your Ene-
 'mies brought down. I believe the Court of
 '*Vienna* will find themselves extremely per-
 'plexed by this Situation of Affairs in *England*.
 'Behold a great many Measures broke, &c.'

Indeed all Things put on a new Face; the
French at Gertruydenberg talked of Peace with
 great Indifferency, and in all future Conferences
 strangely altered their Stile; and at the same Time
 the *Jacobites* every where began to triumph, as
 if their golden Age was just at Hand. In the *Ne-*
therlands a Silver Medal was dispersed by the
Chevalier de St. George's Order, having his (the
 Pretender's) Head on the right Side, and over it
 this Inscription, *Cujus est?* i. e. Whose Image is
 this? On the reverse was represented *Great Bri-*
tain and *Ireland* with this Motto, *Reddite* (i. e.)
 Render to *Cesar* the Things that are his, which
 many hope will be done, if *Cesar* attempts to
 land in *Britain* any more, tho' he slipped his
 Neck out of the Halter the last Time: At Home
 the Party was insolent to a strange Degree, wit-
 ness the following Paper, which it seems, they
 had the Impudence to disperse.

Vivat

JACOBUS TERTIUS,
PRINCEPS NOSTER
Legitimus.

M—G—D—H

Which Capitals were thought to contain a short Collect very much used at that Time, and by that Party, viz. *May God D—n Han—*

2. *Another Step* was the avowing and countenancing *Principles*, and spreading them thro' the Kingdom, *wholly inconsistent with the present Settlement*, exposing the glorious Revolution in 88, that saved the Nation, as criminal and odious: How bare-faced was *Sacheverell* on this Head, and yet not only caressed by the Party, but preferred by the Government after he and his Doctrine had been censured by the highest Judicature in the Nation: The Pulpits began to ring with Doctrines of absolute Non-Resistance and Passive-Obedience, and the divine hereditary Right of Kings: Addresses were encouraged from every Part of the Kingdom, asserting and maintaining the *sole hereditary Right*: Multitudes both from *Scotland* and *England* were presented, which ran in this Strain, and met with a favourable Reception. One Champion for the Cause, *Dr. Bedford*, published a Book in Folio, in Defence of hereditary Right; and, tho' upon Complaint this Presumption was publickly censured, the Doctor came off upon easy Terms. About the same Time, and upon the like Encouragement, the Dutchess of *Gordon* presented the Faculty of Advocates in *Edinburgh* with a Medal, the same I mentioned before, having the Pretender's Head on one Side, and the Inscription

Gujus

The Revolution run
down, and
hereditary
Right
cried up.

Cujus est? And on the reverse the Isles of *Britain* The Pre-
and *Ireland*, with this Motto *Reddite*, meaning, tender's
Render them to him (the Pretender) whose Right Medal pre-
it is. Before the Faculty would receive this Me-^{sented to}
dal, they had some Debates about the Expedi-^{the Facul-}
ency of it; and one that was for receiving it, and ^{vocates.}
returning the Dutchess's Thanks, made the fol-
lowing Speech on the Occasion.

‘ **D** *Ean of Faculty*, whatever these Gentle-
‘ men say of their Loyalty, I think they
‘ affront the Queen whom they pretend to honour,
‘ in disgracing her Brother, who is not only a
‘ Prince of the Blood but the first thereof; and if
‘ Blood can give any Right, he is our *undoubted*
‘ Sovereign: I think too, they call Her Maje-
‘ sty’s Title in Question, which is not our Busi-
‘ ness to determine: *Medals* are the Documents
‘ of History, to which all our Historians refer;
‘ and therefore, tho’ I should give *King William’s*
‘ *Stamp with the Devil at his right Ear*, I see
‘ not how it could be refused, since an hundred
‘ Years hence it would prove such a Coin had
‘ been in *England*: But, *Dean of Faculty*, what
‘ needs further Speeches? None oppose the re-
‘ ceiving the Medal, and returning Thanks to
‘ her Grace, but a few *pitiful scoundrel Vermin*,
‘ and Mushrooms not worth our Notice. Let
‘ us therefore proceed to name some of our Num-
‘ ber, to return our hearty Thanks to the Dutch-
‘ ess of *Gordon*.’

Whereupon the *Dean of the Faculty* put it to
the Vote, and it was carried by a Majority of
63 against 12, that Thanks should be returned
to her Grace; and three Days after Mr. *Dun-*
dass (the Author of the Speech above recited)

waits on the Dutcheſs, and makes her the following Compliment.

Madam,

‘ **W**E are deputed by the Dean of the Faculty of Advocates, in their Name and for ourſelves, to return our moſt hearty Thanks to your Grace for all your Favours, and particularly for the Honour you did us, in preſenting us with a Medal of *our ſovereign Lord the King*. We ſhall always be proud of any Occaſion of teſtifying our Loyalty to *his Majeſty*, and the Reſpect and Honour we have for your Grace.’ And after a ſhort Answer of her Grace, this worthy Advocate replies,

Madam,

‘ **I** Hope and am confident, ſo do my Conſtituents, that your Grace ſhall have very ſoon an Opportunity to compliment the Faculty with a ſecond Medal, *Struck upon the Reſtoration of the King and Royal Family*, and the finiſhing Rebellion, uſurping Tyranny and Whiggery.’

It was obſerved, that this *Medal* was neither of Value (being worth but about half a Crown), nor ſcarce, the ſame having been ſpread in the *Netherlands* ſome Time before, ſo that the Deſign muſt be to arraign the *Hanover Succeſſion*, ſtrike at the Foundation of it; and by ſo publick an Act give ſome Reputation to the *Jacobite Cauſe*, and accordingly the Party here in *England* boaſted of it, *As what was done in the Face of the World, by the Oracles of the Scots Nation, Men learned in the Law*: It is true the Faculty publickly denied the Fact charged upon them, but, ſays my Author, the Fact was as related, and was

was in private justified by some of the Members that had been most active in it; and as there was little done in the Government against these Offenders, so it was affirmed by Sir *David Dalrymple's* Friends, that he had secret Instructions from *some Body*, not to stir in prosecuting the *Medalists*.

3. Besides the ruder Attacks of more private Men, which yet received too much Countenance from Authority, there was a *manifest Coolness*, shown by some in the highest Posts towards the House of *Hanover*, in which the Hopes of all true Protestants and *Britons*, under God, centred; with how much Neglect, to say no worse, were the Envoys of that illustrious Family treated, the Barons *Bothmar* and *Scutz*? The former was insulted and forbid the Court upon presenting his Master's most excellent and seasonable Memorial; as was the latter when he had demanded a Summons for the Duke of *Cambridge*. In the mean Time there appeared a wonderful *Tenderness* towards the *Pretender*. Thus when the Peace was negotiating, and Mr. *Hambden* moved, that the several Powers in Alliance with her Majesty, should, upon a general Peace, *be made Guarantees for the Succession*; this Motion was opposed with an uncommon Zeal by the Ministry, and by their Interest rejected in the *House of Commons*, and highly resented by the Queen, as if it carried an Insinuation, that the Succession was not *safe enough* already; and when another Occasion the Lord *Wharton* moved, that her Majesty should be addressed, that a Reward might be offered to any Person that should *apprehend the Pretender dead or alive*; this was cried out of as *unchristian*, and tho' the Clause was not wholly rejected, it received such a Turn as left it very ambiguous; instead of dead or alive,

live, it was changed into, *bring him to Justice in case he should land.*

Nay, the very Stile is altered with Respect to the Pretender: The Queen in her Speech to the Parliament, *June 6. 1712.* called him, *The Person who has pretended to disturb the Succession of the House of Hanover*; and when the Lord *Wharton* moved that the Queen should be addressed to use her most pressing Instances with the Duke of *Lorrain*, &c. not to receive the Pretender, nor suffer him to continue in any of their Dominions: The Queen answered, I will repete my Instances to have *that Person* removed according to your Desire; but notwithstanding this, *that Person* was safe enough. Nor can we imagine but the Duke of *Lorrain* understood perfectly well the Meaning of such Instances, how often soever repeted; or he would not have dared not only still to harbour the *Outlaw*, but recommend him to the Nation as a Person of the most finished Character and greatest Merit, in a Letter to the Queen herself: And who can reflect upon the Measure the Lord *Townshend* met with for the Barrier Treaty, and engaging the Dutch to be *Guarantees for the Protestant Succession*, and not discern the Interest of *Hanover* was not then very much at Heart, unless in the new Sense of the Word.

The fatal
Peace.

But the grand Contrivance of all was, *the putting a Stop to the Conquest and Triumph of her Majesty's Arms*; which was done first by a Suspension of Arms, and afterwards by a Peace: I do not say *what a Peace*; nor shall I take it upon me to give its proper Epithets, and determine *how safe, how advantageous and glorious it was*, I leave it to the Sense and Feeling of the Nation to judge of that: However, as it was a chief Stroke in the Plot, and the widest Step the Party took

took towards the Ruin of their Country; a few Reflections upon it are due to my present Subject, and will be excused.

And I shall begin with observing this Affair was transacted *clandestinely*: The first Alarm the Nation received of the Intreague, was by Mr. *Prior's* Journey into *France*, about the latter End of *June 1711*. no Notice was taken of his Absence, nor Enquiry made after him; but upon his Return in the Beginning of *August*, landing in a small Vessel near *Deal*, he was seized by the Custom-House Officers; and, to prevent being discovered, assumed another Name; but one of the Officers knowing him, expostulated with him about denying his true Name; adding, That, in discharge of their Trust, they must keep him in Custody till they had received further Instructions from the Secretaries: Upon which Mr. *Prior* produced a Pass in due Form; but the Officers insisted, that not having at first declared the Name mentioned in the Pass, they were not obliged to show any Regard unto it; and so Mr. *Prior* was stopped, till he was released from above.

This made no small Noise both in Town and Country, and was particularly taken Notice of by Count *Gallas*, the Emperor's Minister, who enquired fully into the Matter, and finding the Fact was according to common Fame, complained of it; but was answered by the *Prime Minister*, that he had no Reason to be alarmed, for the Queen would never make a Peace derogatory to any Engagements she had with her Allies, and yet even now the Peace was negotiating, and soon after in effect concluded, without their Knowledge and Participation. The secret Committee tells us, ' That it was determined by the ^{11.} *English* Ministry to carry on a separate Negotiation ^{12mo.}

'tiation with *France*, exclusive of all the Allies;
 'and, in their private Propositions, an express
 'Article is inserted, *That the Secret should be*
 'inviolably kept till allowed to be divulged by the
 'Consent of both Parties: When Mr. Prior re-
 'turned from *France*, he was attended, say the
 'Committee, by Monsieur *Mesnager*, a Mini-
 'ster of *France*, vested with full Powers in due
 'Form, and dated *August 3. 1711.* to treat, ne-
 'gotiate, conclude and sign with such Ministers
 'as should be authorized for the Purpose.'

The Committee adds, 'That Monsieur *Mes-*
 'nager, upon his Arrival here, frequently con-
 'ferred with the Queen's Ministers, as appears by
 'many Instances; but the Subject-Matter of these
 'Conferences, the Time, Place, and particular
 'Persons with whom he treated, or by what
 'Authority, they find no Account of, till the
 '20th of *September 1711.* when by a Letter
 'of Mr. Secretary *St. John*, then at *London*, to
 'the Queen at *Windsor*, it appears that the
 'Lord *Treasurer*, the Lord *Chamberlain*, Lord
 'Dartmouth, and Mr. *St. John*, met Monsieur
 'Mesnager that Evening, *September 20th*, at Mr.
 'Prior's House; which Meeting, as Mr. *St. John*
 'says, was by Order of the Lords of the Commit-
 'tee of Council, but seems unknown to the Queen
 'till the Secretary acquainted her with it by this
 'Letter. At this Meeting Monsieur *Mesnager*
 'delivered to the *British* Ministers, the Answer
 'signed by the King of *France* to the Demands
 'last sent over from *England*; which Demands
 'and Answers were made the secret preliminary
 'Articles betwixt *Great Britain* and *France*;
 'and were signed as such, *September 27. 1711.*
 'by Monsieur *Mesnager* on the Part of *France*;
 'and the Acceptation of them by the Lord
 'Dart-

' *Dartmouth* and *Mr. St. John*, on the Part of
 ' *Great Britain.*' The Committee farther takes
 Notice, ' That *St. John* represented to the Queen,
 ' as the unanimous Opinion of her Servants, that
 ' a Warrant should pass the Great Seal to impower
 ' the Earl of *Oxford*, &c. to treat with Monsieur
 ' *Mefnager*; accordingly a Warrant was drawn
 ' up, but never had the Great Seal to it; and
 ' it is observable, that it was dated the 17th of
 ' *September*, tho' not prepared nor thought of
 ' till the 20th; which antedating, says the Com-
 ' mittee, seems designed to justify the Ministry
 ' in conferring with the Queen's Enemies, pre-
 ' vious to the Warrant, which never passing into
 ' a legal Authority; these secret Negotiations
 ' were begun and carried on from the 11th of
 ' *April*, to the 25th of *September* 1711. with-
 ' out any Powers or written Authority from
 ' the Queen; and after all, tho' it was represent-
 ' ed to the Queen, that full Powers were neces-
 ' sary to authorize them to treat, yet these Pow-
 ' ers were laid aside, and the Acceptation of the
 ' Preliminaries signed by the Lord *Dartmouth*
 ' and *Mr. St. John*, by virtue of a Warrant di-
 ' rected to them two only, signed by the Queen
 ' at Top and Bottom; and counter-signed by no
 ' Body. So that those Ministers seemed consci-
 ' ous to themselves what was doing; who so
 ' readily conferred with the Ministers of *France*,
 ' till this *separate Negotiation* was brought to
 ' Maturity, but avoided to become Parties when
 ' the Treaty was to be signed and executed.'

It is granted when the general Preliminaries
 were agreed to here in *England*, they were
 transmitted to *Holland*, as the Foundation of a
 Peace; but then it is to be considered, there
 were signed at the same Time *special Prelimina-*
ries

ries between *Great Britain* and *France*, in which it was a fundamental Condition, *That they should be concealed with the utmost Secrecy*; and tho' a sham Treaty was carried on at *Utrecht* upon the Foot of the *general Preliminaries*, yet all was governed according to the *secret Articles*, and even during the Negotiations at the general Congress, every Thing was transacted by our Managers at Home. 'The Allies, says the 'Committee, giving in their specifick De- 'mands, was not to be avoided; but the *French* 'were to gain as much Time as possibly they 'could by unnecessary Delays, and at last insist 'upon such a Method of answering these De- 'mands, as they knew the Allies could not 'comply with. *In the mean Time, the Nego-* 'tations were carrying on directly between Eng- 'land and *France*, or rather all the Conditions 'dictated and prescribed by *France*, whilst the 'Allies were amused with a Dispute about the 'Method of answering. All the Particulars that 'concerned even the Interest of the Allies were 'transacted between the Ministers of *England* 'and *France*, under the highest Obligations of 'Secrecy: The *Dutch* are pressed to come into 'the Queen's Measures, without knowing what 'the Queen's Measures were, &c.' So that the Peace, notwithstanding the Formality of a Treaty, was in a great Measure made by a few Ministers of *England* and *France*; and how honourable this was, may be judged by any one that will read the eighth Article of the grand Alliance, in which it was agreed, *Quod neutri partium fas sit Bello semel suscepto, de pace cum Hoste tractare, nisi conjunctim, & communicatis Conciliis, cum altera parte, &c.* 'That none of the Parties, after a War is begun, shall treat with the E- 'nemy

‘ nemy about Peace, but in Conjunction, and
 ‘ by the mutual Consent of all the Allies.’

It is not my Province, as I said, to characterize the Peace, I am afraid the Ruin of *Britain*, and the Liberties of *Europe*, would have proclaimed it to the World in too sensible a Manner, had not Providence interposed: But every Body may observe, that as the Manner of treating, so the Terms of it were directly against the eighth Article, of the grand Alliance; which, after the Clause mentioned before, contains, ‘ That none
 ‘ of the Parties should make Peace till they had
 ‘ obtained a convenient Satisfaction for the Emperor, and a Security for the Dominions and
 ‘ Trade of the *English* and *Dutch*, and procured,
 ‘ that the Crowns of *France* and *Spain* should never be united under the same Prince; and that
 ‘ the *French* never be Masters of the *Indies*, subject to *Spain*, or be permitted to trade in that
 ‘ Country, *directly or indirectly*; nor before they
 ‘ have obtained for the *English* and *Dutch* those
 ‘ Rights, Privileges and Franchises for their
 ‘ Trade in *Spain* and the *Mediterranean*, which
 ‘ were enjoyed by *Charles II.* by virtue of Treaties, Custom, or any other Title whatsoever.’

Now this, as it was a solemn Stipulation, the Necessity of it was owned in many Speeches from the Throne, and Addresses from both Houses of Parliament, and yet all overlooked by our Peace-Makers.

But to let these Things pass, methinks it looks suspicious enough, and may somewhat help those to form a Judgment of this Peace, who cannot otherwise do it, that whilst the truest Friends of the Nation remonstrated against it, it was applauded by our avowed Enemies. The secret Committee takes Notice, ‘ That, in the very
 ‘ Infancy of the Negotiation, the Trade of the
 ‘ World,

World, and the entire *Spanish* Monarchy, which had cost so many Millions, and the Effusion of so much Blood, without being once insisted upon, were given up by the *English* Ministry to the House of *Bourbon*. And when it came to be debated in Parliament, several had the Courage to shew its Deformity, which they did with such Reason and Argument, that nothing but Numbers could answer; representing, that by this Treaty the *Emperor*, and *Dutch*, and *Hanoverians* were betrayed; the brave *Barcelonians* were to be sacrificed; the Interest of the *French* Protestants given up; the Trade to foreign Parts sunk and lost; and it is said, when it was voted, *to be glorious, safe and advantageous* to the Nation, some of these zealous Patriots wept: He was one of the greatest Men in *Britain*, and indeed in *Europe*, and the most competent Judge of this Affair, that declared in the House of Lords, 'That the Measures entred in to, and pursued in *England* during this Treaty, were contrary to her Majesty's Engagements with her Allies, did sully the Triumphs and Glories of her Reign, and would render the *English* Name odious to all other Nations.' The Memorable Speech of Mr. *Corver*, a Burgomaster of *Amsterdam*, may not be impertinent here. Upon the News of the Duke of *Ormond*'s Declaration about a Cessation of Arms, this Gentleman (now Eighty four Years of Age) in an Assembly held for Consultation, warmly pressed them to continue the War, representing, that without that, their Commonwealth was like to be entirely ruined. He added, 'He was an old Man, upwards of Fourscore, and had seen far more difficult Times; nay, he had seen the *French* at their very Gates, but, by the Blessing of God on their Firmness and Resolution, they

Burgomaster
Mr. *Corver*'s
Speech about continuing the
War.

they had hitherto preserved their Liberties;
 that he had no private Interest in Trade, and
 had no other Concern, but for the Good of his
 Country, and the common Cause; yet he
 would give half what he had in the World,
 nay all, rather than suffer the Loss of their
 Liberties: But if at last, says he, we are over-
 powered, then let us lay our Cities under Wa-
 ter, betake ourselves to our Ships, and sail to
 the *East-Indies*, and let those that see our
 Country laid waste, say, *There lived a People*
who chose to lose their Country rather than
their Liberties. This wise and great Man
 thought that all lay at Stake, and was going to
 be sacrificed by such a Peace as was imposed up-
 on them; and the same Apprehensions were com-
 mon among those that had any true Understand-
 ing of the Interest of *Europe*, and Concern for
 its Liberties, and are so well expressed in a Let-
 ter to the Bishop of *Bristol*, dated *July 20.*
1712. said to be written by a Protestant Refugee,
 that I shall transcribe a few Passages out of it.

My Lord,

ALL good Protestants in *Europe* are under
 an inexpressible Astonishment, to see a fa-
 mous Bishop of their Communion employed in
 negotiating a Peace, on a Foot which the de-
 clared Enemy of Religion and Liberty has him-
 self dictated; to behold, that so much Christian
 Blood was spilt; that such vast Treasures were
 spent, and so many Victories gained to no other
 Purpose than to increase the exorbitant Power
 of that dreadful Enemy. And indeed, no im-
 partial Men can think any other, but that this
 Peace was contrived on Purpose to retrieve the
 Affairs of France, that the Authors of it might
 have Assistance from thence to accomplish the

Work they had to do: It was a cloſs Argument of a great Man, when the Queſtion, Whether the Nation was in Danger? was debated in the Houſe of Commons, which he brought for the Affirmative, viz. That, as it was univerſally acknowledged, that it had been the *French King's* Intention, ſo it was *ſtill* his Intereſt, and he has it *now more than ever* in his Power to reſtore the Pretender. Such were the Sentiments of our Friends concerning the Peace.

And it ſeems in this we have the Concurrence of Enemies; indeed our Enemies at Home extolled it, and uſed all Manner of little Arts to make it paſs, and it muſt be owned, it ſucceeded to their Deſire with a Party that they had prepared to receive any Thing, and to ſay after them without making Stop: But, in the mean Time, our Enemies Abroad triumphed in our Folly, and even inſulted us in their Flatteries; in *France* they could not ſuppreſs the Reſentments of the Favours we had done them, and what Thoughts *Philip*, the King of *Spain*, had thereof, may be learnt from his Declaration to his Council. 'Tho', ſays he, I have communicated to you on other Occaſions divers Things relating to the Peace, yet I have always endeavoured to keep ſome Paſſages ſecret, till the Peace ſhould be brought to a Certainty. At preſent, when, by the Divine Aſſiſtance, it is entirely ſettled with *England*, I think fit to communicate to you the principal Articles of which it conſiſts, becauſe the Advantages that reſult from it, *are altogether favourable to me*; for not one Foot of Ground in the *Indies* is to be diſmembered from the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, and I hope to poſſeſs thoſe Countries entire, in the ſame Manner they were poſſeſſed by my late Uncle of glorious Memory, &c. And, ſome

King *Philip* exceeded
ingly pleaſed with
the Peace.

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some Time after, we find him paying his Compliment by the Marquis de Monteleone to the Queen of *Great Britain*, in the following Terms.

Madam,

THE Catholick King my Master has sent me to give you a *thousand Thanks* for the great Pains you have been pleased to take in procuring Peace to *Europe*. The whole *Spanish* Nation in particular owe their Lives to your Majesty; for had the War continued, there is not one faithful *Spaniard* who would not have spent the last Drop of his Blood in my Master's Quarrel.' To which the Queen was pleased to answer,

Sir,

I Thank my Brother, the King of *Spain*, for the Compliment he makes me by you. I think myself very happy in being able to contribute to the Safety of so brave a Nation, and so loyal a People.'

Now, should a Man be never so meanly qualified to judge of the Peace; had he never read nor heard of the Conditions of it; should he be wholly ignorant how much * worse it is than

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* It will scarce be solved by the ablest Critick, without taking in the *Grand Arcanum* of the late Managers, (*viz.* That it was not so much the Interest of *Britain*, as the restoring and obliging the *French* for future Service that was to be regarded in the Peace) how it came to pass, that notwithstanding the further Advantages the Allies had obtained over the Enemy since the Treaty of *Gertruydenberg*, by the taking the strong Towns of *Tournay*, *Mons*, *Doway*, *Aire*, *Bethune*, *St. Venant* and *Bouchain*, yet the Terms accepted at the *Utrecht* Treaty, were far worse than those offered at *Gertruydenberg*. In the former Treaty, *Spain* and the *West-Indies* were to be given to the Emperor, by this they are entirely given up to the House of *Bourbon*; by the former Treaty *Strasburgh* was to be delivered up to the Emperor; by the latter, it remains in the Possession

what was once offered, how much *Britain* suffered in its Trade, and what a mighty Accession of Power is made to the most inveterate Enemies of the Nation hereby, he could not forbear entertaining but indifferent Thoughts of a Peace, *that our Friends contemplate with so much Indignation, and our Enemies with Triumph.*

Let me add, it was made in the *Midst of Victory and Success*, when the Enemy was prepared to send us a Blank, and submit to any Terms we should subscribe. The Name of *Marleborough* was so terrible to a *Frenchman*, that it is probable, had the former Ministry been continued, and the former Measures been pursued, they durst never have looked him in the Face more; nor have had any further Correspondence with him, unless by Trumpeters desiring Capitulations; and

sion of the *French*, and thereby a Door opened to them at any Time into the Heart of the Empire; by the former Treaty, the Towns of *Lisle, Conde and Maubeuge* were to be given the *Dutch*, as Part of their Barrier, which by this Treaty the *French* keep in their own Hands; by the former Treaty, *Newfoundland* was wholly given up to the *English*, by this the *French* reserve a Liberty of catching and drying Fish, and to erect Stages and Huts for that Purpose; by the former (the *Gertruydenberg Treaty*) *Dunkirk* was not only to be razed, and the Harbour filled up, but it was agreed, the Fortifications should never be built, or the Harbour again made navigable, *directly or indirectly*, which last Clause by the *Utrecht Treaty* is left out: So that now there is Room left for another Harbour as commodious as the former, a new Canal, Moles and Sluices, as advantageous to them, and as prejudicial to us, as the old; and all this consistent with their Stipulations, just as if one should covenant with a Neighbour to stop up a Window which overlooks his Garden, and at the same Time break a Hole thro' the Wall, and set up a new Window. Add to this, that, besides the Cession of the entire *Spanish* Monarchy, the victorious Allies were obliged by this Treaty to give three Times as

much as they received, as the Principality of *Catalonia* Vid. *Withers Majorca, Sardinia, Cologne, Liege, Lisle, Bethune, Aire, Whigs vindicated* &c. So that our Managers exchanged whole Provinces

for Towns, and in Value three for one. I might add, the most important Branch of our Trade, that with *Spain*, was so far ruined, that, as the Merchants represented to the House of Lords, we cannot trade thither without twenty five per Cent. Loss.

and yet at this Juncture we encourage a Treaty, leave *France* to dictate the Terms, and comply with such as infer the Loss of all we have gained. I cannot express this in better Words, nor with so good Authority, as by a few Passages in his Majesty's first Speech to his Parliament.

'It were to be wished, says he, that *the unparalleled Success* of a War, so wisely and cheerfully supported by this Nation, in order to procure a good Peace, had been attended with a *suitable Conclusion*; but it is with Concern, I must tell you, that some Conditions *even of this Peace*, essential to the Security and Trade of *Great Britain*, are not yet duly executed; and the Performance of the whole may be looked upon as precarious, until we shall have formed defensive Alliances to guarantee the present Treaty; a great Part of our Trade is rendered impracticable: This, if not retrieved, must destroy our Manufactures, and ruin our Navigation: The publick Debts are very great, and *surprisingly encreased* ever since the *fatal Cessation of Arms*.'

It was after *unparalleled Successes* that *this Peace* was obtained, as the Crown of all our Victories for eight glorious Campaigns: Nay, in *the very Midst* of Victory and Triumph, as was said, we have sought Peace, stopped the conquering Hand, and yielded to a conquered Enemy. It is remarkable, that, at the very Time of the Cessation, Prince *Eugene* thought himself in a Condition to insult the Enemy in his own Country, which he did by Major-General *Grovesstein*, Governor of *Bouchain*; who, being sent with a Detachment of about fifteen hundred Horse, Dragoons and Hussars, invaded *France*,

and plundered and burnt several open Towns and Villages of *Campagne*, and the County of *Metz*; struck Terror and Consternation as far as *Paris*, and brought away a great Number of Hostages for Contribution; the Siege of *Quesnoy* being at the same Time carried on with extraordinary Vigour and Success. And whilst Things were in this State, the *British* General, who knew he had other Work to do than to fight the *French* and spoil their new Friends, effectually disconcerts all Measures, and breaks off from the Allies. 'The Duke of *Ormond*, says an 'Historian, foreseeing that the Reduction of ' *Quesnoy* might swell the Hopes of the Allies, 'and obstruct the Peace, sent to acquaint Prince ' *Eugene*, that his Troops should continue in the 'the Army, *provided he would give over the* ' *Siege of Quesnoy*; which tho' his Highness 'refused, (answering, that instead of putting a 'Stop to the Siege, he would cause it to be prosecuted with all imaginable Vigour, and that 'he would let his Grace be Eye-witness of another Expedition, immediately after the taking 'of that Town) yet nothing of Moment could 'be done by him, being thus deserted and betrayed to the Enemy.' And from henceforth all Correspondence ceased between the two Generals: And soon after, *July 16th*, the confederate Army * separated; Prince *Eugene*, and such of the Auxillaries as would continue with him,

* The States had Intimation of this before Hand. In their Letters to the Queen, dated *June 5. 1712.* they take Notice how much they were surprized with two Declarations, one after another; the first by the Duke of *Ormond*, that he could undertake nothing without new Orders from her Majesty; the other by the Bishop of *Bristol* at *Utrecht*, that perceiving the States would not act in Concert with the Ministers of *Britain* on the Subject of Peace, the Queen would take her Measures apart, and that she looked upon herself to be under no Obligations with Respect to

him, marching towards *Landrecy*, which Place he invested, whilst the Duke of *Ormond* marched with the *British* Troops towards *Ghent*, according to an Argreement, as was reported, between the Earl of *Strafford* and *Villars*, (the Earl having been *incognito* in the *French* Camp before the Cessation of Arms) that the *British* Troops should make themselves Masters of *Ghent* and *Bruges*, whereby they should command the Navigation of the *Lys* and the *Sheld*, and be able to put an effectuall Stop to any further Progress of the confederate Army under the Prince of *Savoy*, in case the *French* General found it impracticable to relieve *Landrecy*.

So that the great Care and Concern of our Managers, was that the Allies should make *no further Progress* against the Enemy, should gain *no further Advantages*; but that being *perfidiously* abandoned by us, and thereby brought into Straits, they should be forced into the Measures of *France*

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the States; and speaking of the Conduct of her General, they expostulate with her Majesty in the following Terms: 'We pray your Majesty, say they, to consider whether we have not just Ground to be surprized, when we see a Stop put, by an Order in your Majesty's Name, *without our Knowledge*, to the Operations of the confederate Army; the finest and strongest which perhaps has been in the Field during the whole Course of the War, and provided with all Necessaries to act with Vigour; and this after they had marched, according to the Resolution taken in Concert with your Majesty's General, *almost up to the Enemy* with a great Superiority, both as to the Number and Goodness of Troops, and animated with a noble Courage and Zeal, to acquit themselves bravely: They add, We flatter ourselves with the Hopes the Duke of *Ormond* has given us, that in a few Days he expects other Orders: But, in the mean Time, we are sorry to see one of the *finest Opportunities lost*.' They justly complain that this was after many Assurances, and these lately repeted, *That her Majesty's Troops should act against the common Enemy till the War was concluded by a general Peace*, and that they should act with their usual Vigour, as was promised them in the Queen's Name by the Duke of *Ormond* himself. But there had been secret Engagements of a different Nature, entred into with other Folks, which were to over-rule these Forms of speaking.

for a general Peace: And tho' some of the brave Allies were rather for venturing all their Treasure and Blood, than submit to Terms so dishonourable as were imposed upon them, yet after the fatal Battle of *Denain*, the Loss of *Marchiennes*, *Douay*, *Quesnoy* and *Bouchain*, all which fell into the Enemies Hands, they thought it adviseable to stand out no longer, but make as good Terms for themselves as they could; and so a Peace is formally concluded at *Utrecht* (the Conditions of which had been concerted long before, between the *English* Ministry and that of *France*) in which *France* was more than restored to its former Strength and Glory; in which *France* and *Spain* were to have all, and the Allies lose all they had been fighting for; only *England* in Consideration of her betraying her Allies, and sacrificing her Honour and Interest to *France*, should have powerful Succours from thence to defend the Peace-makers, and assist them in accomplishing their *grand Design*, viz. the destroying the Succession in the *House of Hanover*, and setting the Pretender upon the Throne.

The Allies
and the late
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proach.

5. The better to blind the Eyes of the Nation, and make all these strange Things pass current, a Cry is raised and industriously spread against our Allies (especially the *Dutch*) and the late Ministry, both which are loaded with Reproach, and made odious among unthinking People. The *Dutch* are solemnly arraigned by the Votes of the House of Commons, *February 5. 1712* as being deficient in their Quota in carrying on the War; and tho' in the Judgment of all impartial Persons, the Aspersions were effectually wiped of in a Memorial from the States to the Queen on that Head; however the Accusation answered its End with those

those it was designed to influence, gave them a Handle to defame the *Dutch*, served for a Bo. 2 of Contention between us and them: The *Memorial* it too large to have a Place here; a Paragraph or two however I shall insert, which will show something of the Nature and Tendency of the Charge brought against them. They alledge, ' That these Resolutions of the House of Commons are drawn up in Form of Decisions, at a ' Time when a Union and Harmony between ' *Great Britain* and the States is more necessary ' than ever——And tho' it be impossible that ' the said Resolutions should fail of making a ' disadvantageous Impression of the States, upon ' those who have not an exact Knowledge of Affairs, yet they must lose very much of their ' Force, when it is considered that the Resolutions were formed, and that the States General ' so positively condemned by them, without ' having any Opportunity to make known what ' they had to say on the Subject, and to remove ' the Prejudices of the House by necessary Informations and Explications.'

The Ministry is severely lashed, as pursuing Measures destructive to their Country. The War itself is represented not only as unnecessary but intolerable, the chief Burden being thrown on us, whilst others went away with the Gain: Hence it was called a *consuming Land War*, and those that were for carrying it on were stigmatized as *a People that delight in War*, which were Phrases made mighty significant among the Party; the Duke of *Marlborough* is accused of prolonging the War for his own private Advantage, and not only so, but of defrauding the Soldiers of their Bread, (tho' at the same Time he was their Darling and Idol) and the Publick of vast Sums, and
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particularly of the two and half per Cent. And yet all this while nothing ever could be made appear against him, but the Malice of his Accusers. The Lord Townshend is voted an Enemy to his Country, February 14, 1711-12. on the Account of the Barrier-Treaty, which he made, say they, under Colour of securing the Protestant Succession; an unpardonable Crime! The Earl of Godolphin is accused of † robbing the Exchequer of no less than thirty five Millions Sterling, tho' thirty one Millions were presently struck off, for which Accounts was stated and ready to pass, and the rest appeared expended for publick Service; but *fortiter calumniare & aliquid harebit*, is a Maxim some had learned, *throw a great deal of Dirt,*
and

† This being the common Topick of Slander, made use of to slur the Whig-Ministry, viz. *That they had plundered the Nation*, and enriched themselves with the Spoils of it; it may not be amiss to examine it a little: The Design of this Pretence is easily seen thro'; the People were not only to believe that Peace was absolutely necessary, the Frauds of former Managers having impoverished the Nation to that Degree, that it could no longer bear the Charge of the War, but their Eyes were to be dazzled whilst the present Managers did all the Mischief they falsely accused others of; like a notable Juggler that cries out in a Croud of Pocket-picking, on Purpose that in the Uproar he himself may pick Pockets unsuspected. The Pretence itself, that the Whigs cheated the Nation whilst they were in Power, is so well answered by Mr. Withers in his little Pamphlet called, *The Whigs Vindicated*, that I need only desire the Reader, that has that Piece, to read half a Score Pages, (from Page 31 to 42) for his full Satisfaction in this Matter: Among other Things the Author has given us the particular Sums granted by Parliament every Year, from the Year 1702 to 1714, from which Calculation it is evident, (1.) That tho' the Whig-Ministry received vast Sums of Money, they accounted for all of it. (2.) That in the Years 1711 and 1712, several hundred thousand Pounds were granted to the Tory-Ministry more than the Whigs ever had any Year when they expended most. (3.) The Whigs laid out their Money in supporting a glorious successful War, and for the Honour and Interest of their Country; how the Tories employed theirs is now pretty well understood, it is certain it was neither in fighting the Nation's Enemies, nor paying off its Debts; our Debts being some Millions more when the Queen died, than they were in the Year 1710. and as his Majesty takes Notice in his Speech, *surprisingly increased since the fatal Cessation of Arms.*

and some will stick; the first Impressions Calumny leaves, are not easily worn out: And it was thought of Use at that Time to set such Stories as these on Foot, and they had enow prepared to receive and spread them.

Of the same Complection, and serving the same Purpose, was the Contrivance of *little sham Plots*, fathered upon the Whigs: The Duke of *Marlborough* could not retire into the Country and divert himself with a few of his Friends but Umbrage was taken at it, as if he was carrying on Designs against the Government, and mercenary Pens were employed to libel him, which was thought by some to be one main Cause of his leaving the Nation. When a Company of Lords and Gentlemen that honoured the Memory of King *William*, met together to celebrate his Birth-Day, at the *Three Tuns* and *Rummer* Tavern in *Gracechurch-street*, this is presently turned into a Plot, and represented as such to the Nation in the Post-Boy of *November 8. 1711*. ‘*Tuesday*
‘last, (says the poor Tool, the Author), being
‘King *William*’s Birth-Day, a Design was laid
‘here to raise the Mob, in Favour of the factious
‘and turbulent Party, who approve themselves
‘true Sons of *Belial*, in making it their Business
‘to disturb and disquiet the Government, which
‘after all their Efforts they have found too firmly
‘established for them to change. He adds,
‘The following Account of the hellish Design of
‘the *English* Republicans, and *Scots Cameroni-*
‘*ans* will appear unquestionably true, being taken
‘upon Examination before the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, and other her Majesty’s Justices of the Peace for this City.’
And after a long Story, that even as the Man himself tells it, has little in it; he concludes,
‘It cannot be supposed that so many seeming
‘Gentle-

Gentlemen and Persons of Distinction should meet in the Manner they did, and in a Place where they thought themselves secure from being known, (*i. e.* in the Heart of the City with a Bonfire before the Door), without *some very ill Intention*; and as such Proceedings evince the Faction would stick at nothing to gain over the Mob to their Side, so we congratulate our Country upon this *their reiterated Disappointment*, and hope they will always meet with the like Success.' Nay, so busy were the *Whigs* in Plotting, that they follow the Queen to *Windsor* to assassinate her there, as was insinuated upon Occasion of three young *German* Gentlemen walking about the Castle, which they went to view: It seems as they walked, they were challenged by a Centinel, as usual, but not understanding *English*, and thinking they had come too near the Queen's House, and thereby given Offence, instead of answering (to they knew not what) they betook themselves to their Heels, and went to their Lodging; and this poor Business afforded some ingenious Men sufficient Materials for a *Whig Plot*: Another horrid Whig Design against the Life of her Majesty was to be executed at *St. Paul's*; to which Purpose the Gallery, where Her Majesty was seated, was to fall, the Screws that fastened it being taken out.

But the most desperate of all was the *Band-Box-Plot*, a horrid Conspiracy against the precious Life of the Lord Treasurer, or at least a Design to blow his Eyes out by Gun-Powder. The first Account of this Plot was thus, 'That a Band-Box was sent to the Lord Treasurer with three Pistols charged and cocked, whose Trickers being tied to a Packthread, fastened to the Cover, the Pistols would have gone off and done Execution at the opening of the Box, had not the

same

‘ same been *miraculously prevented by Dr. Swift,*
 ‘ who being then in the Room, while his Lord-
 ‘ ship was shaving, suspected something, and o-
 ‘ pened the Box in such a Manner, that no Mis-
 ‘ chief was done.’

Soon after Care was taken to publish the Sto-
 ry in the *Post-Boy*, in a different Dress; that o-
 ther Report (of which *Dr. Swift* was the Spread-
 er) not meeting with all the Credit that was de-
 sired, and therefore *Trusty Abel*, or some for him,
 gives it a new Turn to make it more plausible.
 Add to this the Cry of the Churches Danger,
 which the meekest Brutes in the Nation rored
 out in every Ale-House, though they know no-
 thing of any Church but what is made of Stone
 and Mortar, nor belong to any but the Syna-
 gogue of Satan.

And by such Arts as these they endeavoured
 to prejudice the Mob in their Favour, (and in-
 deed if foolish Credulity be the Character of a
 Mob, they turned the main Body of the Nation
 into one) and bring an Odium upon a Party, that
 they knew were aware of their Designs, and
 resolved to stand in their Way, if they could:
 Hereby they insinuated themselves as the *only*
Patriots of their Country, zealous to rescue it
 out of the Hands of those that meant to destroy
 it; and by thus amusing the Nation with Fears
 of imaginary Dangers, the Cry of sham Plots,
 and a Pretence of detecting the Villany of others,
 they gained an Opportunity of acting *their own*,
 and carrying on a *real Plot*, as has since appeared
 to the Conviction of all but those that were in
 it, and their dull stupid Dependents, that have
 learned to say as they are bid.

6. That all Things might be in Readiness for
 their Purpose, Care is taken to disgrace and inca-
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The true pacitate the truest and most zealous Friends of Friends of the Protestant Succession; and at the same Time *Hanover* to commit all Power and Trust to its avowed E-
disgraced, nemies, who are distinguished with special Marks
and all Pla- ces of Trust of Favour throughout her Majesty's Dominions :
filled with *The low Churchmen* are blasted by impure Breath,
Jacobites. and branded as *false Brethren*, and not thought
fit to be employed in any Office, so much as of
a Justice of Peace : The *Dissenters* are marked
for Ruin, are disabled not only to serve their
Country in higher Posts, but their Neighbours,
or Families in the *Quality of School-Masters*;
the former by the Bill to prevent *Hypocrisy*, the
latter by the Bill against *Schism*.

In *Scotland*, the Presbyterians are brought
under new Hardships and Difficulties, whilst the
Episcopalians were caressed, and as a Token of
the Government's Affection, had the *Bishops*
Lands bestowed upon them for their Maintenance,
tho' the former were known and considered as
the avowed Enemies of the Pretender, the latter
of the *House of Hanover*, for whom they refused
to pray, as they generally did (if not universally)
for the Queen. Three famous Incendiaries in the
three Nations, *Sacheverell* in *England*, *Higgins*
in *Ireland*, and *Greenshields* in *Scotland*, are pu-
nished, *only with Preferments*; the Officers of the
Army are closetted to know whether they will
serve her Majesty *without asking Questions*; and
such as had more Sense of Honour and Conscience,
and Love to their Country, than to be made Tools
of to ruin it, (and many such there were) found
no Favour : The Places of Trust civil and mili-
tary, the Lieutenantancy of Counties, and Govern-
ment of Towns, were filled and filling with such
as were thought inclinable to the new Measures;
Chelsea College was provided with a great Num-
ber of Invalids, such as were lame only in their
Morals,

Morals, and would have been able to have handled their Arms had the Pretender come, for whose Service they were supposed to be there quartered: Great Numbers were lifted into the Pretender's Service, and an Army raising for him in *Britain* and *Ireland*; and not to trouble the Reader with any more particular Detail of such Scandals; I shall only take Notice, that Sir *Patrick Lawless*, a Sort of an Envoy from the Pretender, was admitted into the Queen's Closet, whilst the Ministers of *Hanover* could scarce be endured within Sight of the Court; which was so shocking, even to the honestest Tories, that Sir *Thomas Hammer*, when he declared his Opinion in the House of Commons (of which he was then Speaker) *that the Nation was in Danger*, took Occasion to mention this Particular with a just Censure.

And this length they had brought Things; thus ripe were their Preparations, so that nothing seemed wanting but a favourable Opportunity to finish their Work; which whilst they were waiting for, the divine Providence, that had so often saved a sinking Nation, steps in, and *August 1. 1714.* takes away the unhappy Princess, they had so long and so grossly abused, and that so suddenly and with so much Surprise upon them, as strangely perplexed their Counsels, and threw them into the utmost Confusion.

How the Plot was to be executed, Time may more fully discover; some talk of the Pretender's being *associated* with the Queen in her Government, others of *her resigning* to him; and it has been affirmed that there was a Design of proposing it to the Parliament, that they should empower her Majesty to dispose of the Crown, and name her Successor by Will: But it is more probable their Scheme was something to this Purpose, 'That the Queen was to live till they had
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adjusted Matters both at Home and Abroad, and got all Things in Readiness, and that when the Time should come, that she *must* die, the *Youngster* was to pop out from behind the Curtain, and usurp the Throne where they were resolved to support him if they could.' But whether this was their Plan or not, the Design in general is undoubted, and the true Protestant and true *Briton*, will remember with Gratitude how seasonably and remarkably it was blasted, and that by the immediate Hand of Heaven.

The Jacobites keep up the Spirit of their Party.

The Faction being thus balked, many began to think they would yield to Despair, and that their Cause and Interest would die away in a little Time; but they soon made it appear that their Disappointment did but enrage them, and therefore instead of quitting the Project, they pursue it with the more Zeal, or rather Madness, as if they had all joined in the profane *Oath of a noted Ecclesiastick* among them, who, when their Troubles were coming upon them, *swore by his Maker they must and would have the Pretender*: For a while indeed they suppress their Resentments and conceal their Designs, and with an Hypocrisy, *never outdone by the vilest on Earth*, own his present Majesty's Title, swear to his Government, and solemnly abjure the Pretender; but this was only to gain Time; Mischief was in their Heart; they were under Engagements another Way, and it seems were willing to recommend themselves to their new Friends and Confederates, the *Jesuits*, by practising their Divinity, *take an Oath with a present actual Intention of breaking it*: Blush, O ye Heavens at these Monsters! But, Lord, Hallowed be thy Name!

Their Plot, I say, still went on, and all their Engines were set a going to make it effectual:

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'blest Duty and Respect, Sir, your Majesty's
'most faithful, most dutiful,' &c.

In Pursuance of these fine Promises, and as a
Proof of his singular Fidelity, &c. his Lordship,
about the Beginning of *August 1715*. embarked
with Major General *Hamilton*, on Board a Col-
lier in the *Thames*, and in a few Days arrived at
Newcastle, where he hired a Vessel that set him
and his Company on Shore, at *Creil* in the Shire
of *Fife*: Soon after his Landing, most of the
Scots Noblemen, avowedly disaffected to the
present Government, resorted to him, as the
Matquefs of *Huntley* and *Tullibardine*, the Earls
of *Nithisdale*, *Linlithgow*, *Southesk*, *Marishall*
and *Carnwath*, the Viscounts of *Kilsyth*, *Ken-
mure*, *Kingstone* and *Stormount*, and the Lords
Drummond and *Rollo*: These got together all
the Forces they could, and having received a
Vessel from *Havre-de Grace* laden with Arms
and Ammunition, and soon after another with se-
veral Officers on Board, who gave them Assur-
ance that the Pretender would soon be with them

Pretender's in Person: On the 6th of *September* the Earl of
Standard Mar set up the Pretender's Standard, and caused
set up by him to be proclaimed at *Brae Mar*.
Mar.

The Death of the *French King*, which fell
out at this Juncture, a little stunned the Party,
and it seems put them upon consulting about
quitting the Enterprize for a Time, which some
were for, and accordingly urged that they should
go Home and wait the Pretender's Landing; but
the Majority depending upon a general Insur-
rection in *England*, were for going forward, re-
solving in the mean while to send Messengers to
the Pretender, to press his coming over to them
with all Speed: Pursuant to this Resolution, the
Earl of *Mar* assumes the Title of *Lieutenant Ge-
neral*

neral of the Pretender's Forces, and, as such, published the following Declaration.

‘ O Ur rightful and natural King *James VIII. Mar's De-*
 ‘ by the Grace of God, who is now coming *claration.*
 ‘ to relieve us from our Oppressions, having
 ‘ been pleased to entrust us with the Direction of
 ‘ his Affairs, and the Command of his Forces,
 ‘ in this his ancient Kingdom of *Scotland*; and
 ‘ some of his faithful Subjects and Servants met
 ‘ at *Aboyne*, viz. The Lord *Huntley*, the Lord
 ‘ *Tullibardine*, the Earl *Marishal*, the Earl *South-*
 ‘ *esk*, *Glingary* from the *Clans*, *Glenderule* from
 ‘ the Earl of *Broadalbine*, and Gentlemen of
 ‘ *Argyleshire*, Mr. *Patrick Lyon* of *Auchter-house*,
 ‘ the Laird of *Auldbaix*, Lieutenant General
 ‘ *George Hamilton*, Major General *Gordon*, and
 ‘ myself; having taken into Consideration his
 ‘ Majesty's last and late Orders to us, find that
 ‘ as this is now the Time that he ordered us to
 ‘ appear openly in Arms for him, so it seems to
 ‘ us absolutely necessary for his Majesty's Ser-
 ‘ vice, and the relieving of our native Country
 ‘ from all its Hardships, that his faithful and
 ‘ loving Subjects, and Lovers of their Country,
 ‘ should with all possible Speed put themselves
 ‘ into Arms: These are therefore in his Maje-
 ‘ sty's Name and Authority, and by Virtue of
 ‘ the Power aforesaid, and by the King's speci-
 ‘ al Order to me thereunto, to require and em-
 ‘ power you forthwith to raise your sensible Men,
 ‘ with their best Arms; and you are immediately
 ‘ to march them to join me, and some other of
 ‘ the King's Forces at the *Invor* of *Brae-Mar*,
 ‘ on *Monday* next, in order to proceed in our
 ‘ March to attend the King's Standard, with his
 ‘ other Forces. Now is the Time for all good
 ‘ Men to show their Zeal for his Majesty's Ser-
 ‘ vice,

‘ vice, whose Cause is so deeply concerned, and
 ‘ the Relief of our native Country from Oppres-
 ‘ sion and a foreign Yoke, too heavy for us and
 ‘ our Posterity to bear; and to endeavour the
 ‘ Restoring not only our rightful and native King,
 ‘ but also our Country to its ancient, free and in-
 ‘ dependent Constitution, under him whose An-
 ‘ cestors have reigned over us for so many Ge-
 ‘ nerations. In so honourable, good and just a
 ‘ Cause, we cannot doubt of the Direction, As-
 ‘ sistance and Blessing of Almighty God, who
 ‘ has so often rescued *the Royal Family of Stuart*,
 ‘ and our Country from sinking under Oppression.
 ‘ Your punctual Observance of these Orders is
 ‘ expected, for doing of all which, this shall be
 ‘ to you, and all you employ in the Execution
 ‘ of them, a sufficient Warrant.’ Given at *Brace-*
Mar, September 9. 1715.

M A R.

On the same Day he writes to the Bailie of
Kildrummy, complaining that his Men were re-
 fractory; ‘ Is not this the Thing, says he, we are
 ‘ now about, which they have been wishing *this*
 ‘ *twenty six Years?* And now when it is come,
 ‘ and the King and Country’s Cause is at Stake,
 ‘ will they for ever sit still and see all perish?’
 And having sent an Order for his Lordship of *Kil-*
drummy to rise, *he swears by all that is sacred,*
 ‘ If they come not forth, with their best Arms
 ‘ and Accoutrements, *he will burn all they have.*’

Mar’s Ma-
nifesto.

A few Days after comes out a *Manifesto* in
 the Name of this worthy Earl, and his Adhe-
 rents, an Abstract of which may not be imperti-
 nent here. ‘ His Majesty’s Right of Blood to
 ‘ the Crowns of these Realms, say they, is un-
 ‘ doubted, and has never been disputed or at-
 ‘ tained

' *raigned* by the least Circumstance or lawful Au-
 ' thority. By the Laws of God, by the ancient
 ' Constitution, and by the positive, unrepealed
 ' Laws of the Land, we are bound to pay his
 ' Majesty the Duty of loyal Subjects. Nothing
 ' can absolve us from this our Duty of Subjecti-
 ' on and Allegiance; our Constitution has been
 ' sunk amidst the various Shocks of unstable Fac-
 ' tion, while in searching out new Expedients
 ' pretended for our Security, it has produced
 ' nothing but daily Disappointments, and has
 ' brought us and our Posterity under a precarious
 ' Dependence upon foreign Councils and Inte-
 ' rests, and the Power of foreign Troops. The
 ' late unhappy Union has encreased the Diffe-
 ' rences between his Majesty's Subjects of *Scot-*
 ' *land* and *England*; neither can we hope the
 ' Party, who chiefly contributed to bring us into
 ' Bondage, will at any Time endeavour to work
 ' our Relief. Our Substance has been wasted in
 ' the late ruinous Wars, and we see an unavoid-
 ' able Prospect of having Wars continued to us
 ' and our Posterity, so long as the Possession of
 ' the Crown is not in the right Line. The he-
 ' reditary Rights of the Subject are now treated
 ' as of no Value; a packed up Assembly, that
 ' call themselves a *British* Parliament, have, so
 ' far as in them lies, *inhumanly murdered their*
 ' *own and our Sovereign*, by promising so great
 ' a Reward for so execrable a Crime. They have
 ' prescribed worthy Patriots for their honourable
 ' and successful Endeavours to restore Trade,
 ' Plenty and Peace to these Nations; they have
 ' empowered a foreign Prince (who notwithstand-
 ' ing his Expectation of the Crown for fifteen
 ' Years, is still unacquainted with our Manners,
 ' Customs and Language) *to make an absolute*
 ' *Conquest of the three Kingdoms* (if not timely

prevented) by investing himself with *unlimited*
Power, &c. The Consideration of these un-
 happy Circumstances, with a due Regard to
 common Justice, &c. has engaged us in the
 present Undertaking, which we are resolved
 to push to the utmost, and to stand by one ano-
 ther to the last Extremity, &c. And we ear-
 nestly beseech and expect (as his Majesty com-
 mands) the Assistance of all our true Fellow-
 Subjects, to second this our *first* Attempt. We
 declare we will endeavour to have such Laws
 enacted, as shall give absolute Security to us,
 and future Ages, *for the Protestant Religion,*
 against all Efforts of arbitrary Power, Popery,
 and all its other Enemies; nor have we any
 Reason to distrust the Truth and Purity of our
 holy Religion, or the known Excellency of his
 Majesty's Judgment, as not to hope that in due
 Time, good Example and Conversation with
 our learned Divines, will remove those Preju-
 dices, *which we know his Education in a Popish*
Country has not rivetted in his Royal discerning
Mind. To conclude, we shall concur with our
 Fellow-Subjects in such Measures as will make
 us flourish at Home, and be formidable abroad,
 under our rightful Sovereign, and ancient Con-
 stitution, undisturbed by a *Pretender's* Coun-
 cils and Interests from Abroad, or a restless
 Faction at Home.'

Design on
 Edinburgh
 Castle.

Having thus openly avowed the Cause, they
 prosecute it as well as they can; their first At-
 tempt was against *Edinburgh Castle*, which they
 attempted to surprize: The Project was this.
 About eighty Persons were to mount the Wall
 by the *West-Side* of the Castle, by *Rope-Ladders*
 provided for that Purpose, which were to be
 pulled up by some Soldiers belonging to the

Garrison,

Garrison, who had been corrupted. This Design was to have been executed *Sept. 8.* but was seasonably discovered by the Care of the Lord Justice *Clerk*, the Conspirators being taken in the very Fact.

Their Friends in *England* were not idle, but were happily prevented from doing all the Mischief they designed, by the timely apprehending some that were thought Chiefs in the Conspiracy; as Mr. *Harvey* of *Combe*, Mr. *Anstis*, ^{Conspirators in Eng-} Sir *William Wyndham*. Mr. *Harvey*, upon his ^{land taken} being taken, stabbed himself in two or three Places with a Penknife, but the Wounds did not ^{up.} prove mortal. Sir *William Wyndham* made his Escape from the Messenger, but was pursued by a Proclamation, in which it was asserted, ' That on Perusal of Papers found in his Custody, it did appear he had entred into a most horrid and traiterous Conspiracy, not only for the Encouragement of the Rebellion now carrying on in these Kingdoms in favour of the Pretender, but also for the abetting and promoting the intended Invasion of these Kingdoms.' Ten Days after he surrendered himself, and was committed to the *Tower*.

Bristol, that was to be made a Sort of Magazine for the Rebels, was secured from them by the Earl of *Berkley*, Lord-Lieutenant of the County, and Governor of that City. At *Bath* were seized eleven Chests of Fire-Arms, an Hogshhead of Basket-Hilt Swords, three Pieces of Canon, and Moulds to cast Canon, which had been buried in the Ground. Major General *Pepper* with a Regiment of Dragoons is sent to *Oxford*, who seizing several Papists, and other Jacobites, prevented the Insurrection designed there; and by this Means (the apprehending some of the Ringleaders, and the Flight of o-

thers) their Affairs in *England* did not succeed according to Desire and Expectation.

Insurrecti-
on in Nor-
thumber-
land.

In the North, where all the Precaution was not used that might have been, the Conspirators venture on in their Enterprize. The Earl of *Derwentwater*, Mr. *Forster*, &c. to the Number of about two hundred and fifty, rendezvouzed at *Plainfield*, near *Rothbury*, *Thursday October 6.* From whence they marched to *Warkworth*, about four Miles off *Alnwick*, *October 7.* On *Saturday* the Lord *Widdrington* joined them with thirty Horse. On *Monday October 10.* they were joined with about forty Horse from *Scotland.* They staid at *Warkworth* till *Thursday October 14.* when they left the Place, and came to *Morpeth*, under the Command of Mr. *Forster*, Parliament-Man for that Country, and now the Pretender's Champion and General. The next Morning after their Arrival at *Morpeth*, viz. *October 15.* they drew up about the Cross on Horseback, and proclaimed the Pretender (as they had done before at *Warkworth*) and at the same Time invited all Sorts of Persons to enter into his Service (the Pretender) promising them Twelve Pence *per Day*, only the *Presbyterians*, whom they expressly excluded from that Honour. When they left *Morpeth*, they were computed 373. Their next March was to *Hexham*, where they staid four Nights (from *October 15.* to the 19th) and there also proclaimed their Master King of *England.* I know not of any remarkable Piece of Chivalry they did in any of these Places, only their taking Prisoner one *Thomas Gibson*, a Blacksmith in *Newcastle*, who fell in with them between *Morpeth* and *Felton*, and was carried captive from Place to Place, as the first Fruits of their Warfare. From *Warkworth* to *Morpeth* they set him on the bare Horse, pinnioned,

nioned, and it seems, as he was riding through *Morpeth* in this Condition, some of the Company took Occasion to divert themselves with the Prisoner, pointing at him, and calling him Names, he crying out, *For the Hope of Israel I am bound with this Chain.*

The Government was not unconcerned at these Proceedings, but having Intelligence of the Rising and Motions of the Rebels, sent Lieutenant General *Carpenter* with *Hotham's* Regiment of Foot, *Cobham's*, *Moleworth's* and *Churchill's* Dragoons against them, who arrived at *Newcastle* about the 20th of *October*, and marched in Quest of the Rebels, drove them out of the County into the Borders of *Scotland*, where they were joined first by three Troops of Horse, commanded by the Lord *Kenmure*, and afterwards (*October 22.*) by a large Body of Foot, about 1500, who had found Means to cross the *Forth* under Brigadier *MacIntosh*; but being pursued by the King's Forces, they made the best of their Way to *Lancaster*, and troubled this Part of the Country no more.

So little passed that was memorable during the Disturbances in *Northumberland*, that I shall be excused, if I pass them over the more lightly. No Blood was shed that I know of, and little Violence offered by any of the Rebels in their Tours up and down the Country; only where they found Arms and Horses, to their Purpose, they made bold with them. The old ruined Castle of *Holy Island* was surpris'd by *Lancelot Errington* of *Newcastle*, a Master of a Ship, who by a Stratagem got the few Men in the Castle on Board his Vessel, and so took Possession; but the Governor of *Berwick* sending a few Soldiers the next Day, dispossessed the new Commandant *Errington*, and took him and his Company Prisoners,

Design a-
gainst
Newcastle
prevented.

ers. But their chief Design undoubtedly was upon *Newcastle*, where they expected Money and Friends, and considerable Supplies of both; and had they succeeded, it would no question have been of the utmost Consequence to them, and very much encouraged and encreased their Party, as it would probably have involved the Town in Confusion and Blood; for what by the Sword of the Enemy without, and of the Confederates within assisting them, and the Sword of Authority for reducing the Place, had it fallen into the Rebels Hands, who can tell the Disolations that would have ensued! *Preston's* Miseries were but a Taste of what *Newcastle* might have expected. It is like they would have had little to do, but (as *Titus* at the Siege of *Jerusalem*) stand by and see the Inhabitants tear and destroy one another. But the Divine Providence averted the Blow; the Enemy was discouraged from so much as attempting any Thing, by the Care and Vigilance of the Right Honourable the Earl of *Scarborough*, Lord Lieutenant of the County, and of the Deputy-Lieutenants and Magistrates of the Place, among whom I may be allowed to say, Mr. Alderman *White* distinguished himself by a Zeal becoming a *Patrician*, and for which he has the Thanks and good Wishes of all the Inhabitants, except such as regret the Deliverance.

March of
the Rebels
from *Kelfo*
to *Preston*,

The Rebels being at *Kelfo* upon the Borders, where our Account left them, and where they were joined with their *Scots* Friends, hearing of General *Carpenter's* Approach, left that Place *October 27.* and marched to *Fedburgh*, and from thence, *October 29.* to *Hawick*, when about three hundred of the *Scots* took Occasion to separate from them, most of whom surrendered to the Government at *Lemington*. At
Hawick

Harwick they had a Consultation among themselves, whether to stand their Ground and fight General *Carpenter*, or march off. *M^r Intosh* was for the first, urging the Superiority of their Number, that the longer they deferred an Engagement, the greater Opposition they were like to meet with; and that their fleeing before so inconsiderable a Number of Troops, would at once dispirit their Friends and encourage their Enemies: But General *Foster* was against fighting, till they were joined with a better Body of Horse, and most of the other Chiefs gave into this Opinion. Some were for going back to *Scotland*, to assist the Earl of *Mar* in reducing *Argyle*; after which all *Scotland* would be their own: This was proposed and urged by the Earl of *Winton*,^{1715. p.} but the Lord *Widdrington* was for marching into *Lancashire* to join their Friends there; which accordingly they did, leaving *Harwick* *October* 30. from whence they marched to *Langholm*, from thence to *Brampton*, and so to *Penrith*, *November* 2. where they seized what Money they could get belonging to the publick Revenue (to the Value, it is said, of about Seventy Pounds,) from thence to *Appleby*, *November* 3. thence to *Kendal*, *November* 4. next to *Kirby Lonsdale* *November* 6. and so to *Lancaster*, *November* 7. In most of which Places they proclaimed the Pretender as King of *England*, with Drums beating, Colours flying, the *Scots* being distinguished by blue and white Cockads, and the *English* by red and white; Part of the Rebels were at *Lancaster* on Lord's-Day, *November* 6. when it is said, one of their Chaplains preached from *Isaiab* xiii. 15, 16. Every one that is found shall be thrust thro', and every one that is joined to him shall fall by the Sword: Their Children also shall be dashed to Pieces before their

their Eyes, their Houses shall be spoiled, and their Wives ravished. Whether this be Matter of Fact, I know not, the same having been said to have been done at *Warkworth* in *Northumberland*, which I suppose to be a Mistake. At *Lancaster* they proclaimed the Pretender, *November 8.* and having seized seven or eight Pieces of Canon, and fitted them with Carriages, they marched to *Preston, November 5.* being diverted from their Design on *Liverpool*, by the extraordinary Zeal and Diligence of the Inhabitants, who planted Seventy Pieces of Canon about the Town, laid Part of the Avenues under Water, and threw up a Line where the Water would not reach: In their March to *Preston* they were joined by Fifteen hundred, most of *Lancashire!* and being thus reinforced, and not knowing whither immediately to flee, they barricade the Place, as well as they could, wait the coming of the King's Forces under General *Carpenter* and General *Wills*; and having sustained a Sort of a Fight, mostly out of the Windows, in which they killed and wounded about 120 of the King's Troops; they resigned themselves Prisoners at Discretion to the Number of about 1470. of *English* Noblemen and Gentlemen about 75. *Scots* Noblemen and Gentlemen 143. the rest being Vassals, Servants and private Men,

The Sur-
render at
Preston.

Battle at
Dumblain.

Few need be informed, that at the same Time, viz. *November 13.* the Duke of *Argyle* attacked the greater Body of the Rebels in *Scotland*, commanded by the Earl of *Mar*. The Attack was made with the utmost Disadvantages (the Duke having but between Three and four thousand against thrice that Number; and his Men being surprized before they were all formed, and many of them out of Breath, by marching up an Hill)

Hill) and yet it pleased God, *to whom the Issues of Battle belong*, so far to succeed it, as to prevent the Design of the Rebels, which was to cross the *Forth*; on which Account it must be esteemed of no small Use in the present Juncture of Affairs, whether it may be called a Victory or not; for the Consequence of it was, that instead of attempting to press forward, *Mar* and his Men retire to *Perth*. At *Perth* they wait for the *Pretender* with his Forces, and set themselves to fortify the Place for their greater Safety: *December 22.* their Sovereign arrives at *Peterhead* in a *French Ship*, formerly a Privateer of 8 Guns, but brought no Succours, as was expected, only a few Gentlemen and Officers in his Retinue; among whom was the Lord *Tinmouth*, Son to the Duke of *Berwick*, and Lieutenant *Cameron*; the Lieutenant was immediately sent Express to *Perth*, where he arrived on the 26th, and, on the 27th, *Mar* and other Chiefs went to wait on the *Pretender* at *Fetterosfe*, and kiss his Hand: Soon after his landing the *Chevalier*, puts forth his Declaration, in which it is observable, he does not so much as dissemble a Regard to the Protestant Religion, nor one Promise directly to maintain it; notwithstanding the Episcopal Clergy at *Aberdeen* welcome their Sovereign, as they call him, with an Address presented by some of their Body at *Fetterosfe*, *December 29.* In which among many other remarkable Things worthy of themselves, they take Notice, 'God had trained up ^{The Ad-} dresses of
' his Majesty from his Infancy in the School of the Episcopal Clergy
' the Cross; and as this School has sent forth the ^{of Aber-}deen.
' most illustrious Princes, as *Moses*, *Joseph* and
' *David*, so they intimate their Hopes, he will
' be like them. Adding, That his princely Vir-
' tues are such, that, in the Esteem of the best
' Judges,

‘ Judges, he was *worthy to wear a Crown*, tho’
 ‘ he had not been born to it ; and for themselves,
 ‘ (good Men) they are confident it would be his
 ‘ Majesty’s Care to make his Subjects an happy
 ‘ People ; to secure to them their *Religion, Li-*
 ‘ *berties, &c.* and unite all in true Christianity,
 ‘ according to the Gospel of Jesus Christ, (*i. e.*
 ‘ as interpreted by the Church) and the Practice
 ‘ of the primitive Christians (*i. e.* met at *Trent*
 ‘ in the Middle of the Sixteenth Century.’)

From *Fetterosse* he went to *Brechin*, *January*
 2. and, passing thro’ *Kinmaird, Glamis, Dun-*
dee, &c. he came to *Scoon* near *Perth*: Some
 observed, that, in none of the Places he passed
 thro’, he attended the Episcopal Worship, but
 constantly employed his own Confessor, Father
Innes, to say the *Pater Noster*, and *Ave-Mary’s*,
&c. for him, which would have offended many
 of his Friends, had he not atoned for it, in a
 good Measure, by turning out and imprisoning
 the Presbyterian Ministers where they fell in his
 Way. On *Monday, January 9.* he made his pu-
 blick Entry on Horseback into *Perth* ; and, in
 the Evening, returning to *Scoon*, fixed his Coun-
 cil, and issued out several Proclamations, *viz.*
 One for a general Thanksgiving for his Arrival :
 another for praying for him in Churches ; a third
 for the Currency of all foreign Coin ; a fourth for
 the Meeting of a Convention of States ; a fifth
 for all sensible Men from Sixteen to Sixty, to re-
 pair to his Royal Standard ; a sixth for his Coro-
 nation, which was fixed to the 23d of *January*.

Consultati- But, before all this Work could be dispatched,
 on at *Perth* the *Dutch* arrive at *Edinburgh* and *Stirling* ;
 about which was not grateful to his Majesty of *Scoon*,
 fighting. spoiling the Ceremony of his Coronation, and
 hindring the Meeting of his Convention of States,
 Par-

Parliament, &c. Instead of which fine Things, the only Matter now under Consideration was, how to provide for their own Safety, and the grand Question was, Whether to maintain the Place, and fight the Duke of *Argyle*, or retreat? And if we may believe a late Pamphlet, called, *An Account of the Proceedings at Perth*, most of the Officers and Soldiers, especially the *Highland Clans*, were for the former, and indeed so keen for fighting, that they could scarce be restrained. On the 30th of *January*, they had a Council of War opened by the *Pretender* himself, who spoke as well as he could, and in a few Words proposed the Case, which *Mar*, with all the Eloquence he is Master of, enlarged upon: He told them, ' Their great Expectation ' was from the Duke of *Ormond's* landing in ' *England*, as had been concerted between his ' Grace and himself; but that the Duke and ' his Friends had met with many Disappoint- ' ments, and their Designs were betrayed; that ' their Duke had sailed to the Coast of *England*, ' and gone on Shore, but found his Friends so ' discouraged that it was impossible to bring them ' together; that his Grace was gone back to ' *France*, where Preparations were making for ' his Descent on *England*, with such Power as ' would protect their Friends, &c. That these ' Things have brought the Weight of the War ' upon *Scotland*, and not only so, but had caused ' the Succours which they had expected from ' Abroad to be stopped, and reserved for the ' D—— of O——d's Expedition, which ' was now in great Forwardness in the Western ' Parts of *France*; upon which he proposes it ' to be considered, what was best to be done, and ' whether they could maintain themselves in ' their present Situation,' &c. This was follow-
ed

ed with warm Debates, and with such Solicitations for fighting, by sundry Gentlemen, that *Mar* and others, who were resolved against hazarding a Battle, were forced to adjourn the Council to next Morning: In the mean Time, and, a few Hours after, a select Number got together, to whom *Mar* urged the Necessity of retreating, and, as it is said, offered the following Particulars as the Reasons of his Motion.

(1.) That a foreign Prince, who had not yet declared *openly* in favour of their Enterprize, but was firm in their Interest, had signified that it was his Desire, they should by no Means put it to the Hazard *yet*; but make as handsome a Retreat as possible, and withdraw as many as could by shipping into *France*, where they should be protected, and that when the *Imperialists* were thoroughly embarked in a War with the *Turks*, that he would openly assist.

(2.) That the Train of their Councils being discovered in *England*, the Assistance they depended on from Abroad was at present rendred impracticable; that the Proceedings against their Friends in *England* had disconcerted their Measures; that the People now in the Government had had Time to raise Money, Troops, and get over foreign Forces, &c.

(3.) That they owed their Disappointment to a cursed *Assembly of Whigs*, (meaning the Parliament) but these could sit but for a limited Time, *which would soon expire*; and such were the Affections of the People to the *Pretender* that they were assured they might expect the next House of Commons would be quite another Sort of People, &c. And upon these and the like

Considerations it was resolved not to fight, but
 to retreat, and indeed to quit the Design at pre-
 sent; tho' this was concealed from their Follow-
 ers, who knew nothing of the Matter, and sup-
 posed they only waited for *a more favourable*
Opportunity of engaging the Forces that pursued
 them. But their *real* Intention was to separate,
 and accordingly they marched from *Perth* to *Dun-*
dee, and *Montrose*; where having received Intel-
 ligence, *Sept. 14.* that Part of the King's Army
 was advancing towards them, the *Pretender* or-
 dered the Clans that remained with him, to be
 ready to march about Eight at Night towards
Aberdeen, where he assured them a considerable
 Force would soon come to their Assistance from
France: At the Hour appointed for their March,
 the *Pretender* ordered his Horse to be brought
 before the Door of the House where he lodged,
 and his Guard to mount, as if he intended to ac-
 company them to *Aberdeen*; but at the same
 Time he slipped privately out on Foot, went to
 the Earl of *Mar*'s Lodging, and from thence by
 a By-way to the Water-side, where a Boat was
 waiting, and carried him and *Mar* on Board a
French Ship; and about a Quarter of an Hour
 after, two other Boats carried the Earl of *Mel-*
ford and the Lord *Drummond*, Lieutenant Ge-
 neral *Sheldon*, and ten other Gentlemen on Board
 the same Ship, and then they hoisted Sail and
 put to Sea: And *this ended* the Rebellion in a
 great Measure: The Heads having made their
 Escape, the rest were put to shift for themselves
 as well as they could: Some were taken, some
 dispersed, and some it is known, both of *Scots*
 and *English* Justice pursued, as the Earl of *Der-*
wentwater, the Lord *Kenmure*, who were be-
 headed on *Tower-Hill*, *February 24.* Sundry
 more of an inferior Rank suffered also, which

The Pre-
 tender's
 Flight
 from Scot-
 land.

Execution
 of Der-
 wentwater.

yet are *so few* in Proportion to the Number of the Conspirators, and the Heinousness of the Crime, that *Mercy has rejoiced over Judgment* in an extraordinary Manner. (it is Pity it should be with no better Effect). The Earl of *Derwent-water* died avowing his Treason, asking Pardon for his pleading guilty at his Trial; by which he intimates he had *made too bold with his Loyalty*, having never any other for his rightful and lawful Sovereign but King *James III.* whom he looks upon as a Person capable of making his People happy, (*i. e.* by making them *Papists*). And notwithstanding all his Lordship said at his Trial to excuse his rising and taking up Arms, he now owns he intended to serve his King, *the Pretender*, and his Country by it; hoping *by his Example* to have induced others to their Duty, and having prayed for the Restoration of the ancient Constitution, and Welfare of his Country, he begs his Life may be accepted as a small Sacrifice towards it; and it is said he would have had the Undertaker for his Funeral, to have provided him a Silver Plate for his Coffin, importing, *That he died a Sacrifice for his lawful Sovereign*, and in the like unrelenting Temper died the Lord *Kentmure*, and most of the rest that have hitherto suffered: Nor can it be denied, that the whole Party thro' the Nation still retain the same Spirit, notwithstanding the Hand of Heaven so manifest in their Defeat. The Judgments of God and the Mercy of their Prince are lost upon them; and if we may judge of them from their present Conduct, they seem, with a Heart *hardned like Pharaoh's*, resolved to pursue the Destruction of their Country or perish in the Attempt; and we must wait on Providence for the Issue of these Things: In the mean Time the same God who

hath

bath delivered us from so great a Death, and who doth deliver, we trust will yet deliver.

And thus I have finished the *Account* I proposed of the *Plots and Conspiracies against our Religion and Liberties*, and have traced it from the *Reformation* to the present Day, through every Reign; by which it appears, how industrious our Enemies have been to destroy us! How watchful the divine Providence to deliver and save us; and I hope there will need little Exhortation to the Protestant and pious Reader *here to set up his Ebenezer*, to acknowledge and celebrate the divine Providence: *If it had not been the Lord on our Side*, now may *Israel* say, (and *England* say) *If it had not been the Lord who was on our Side, when Men rose up against us, they had swallowed us up quick; when their Wrath was kindled against us, then the Waters had overwhelmed us, the Stream had gone over our Soul; but blessed be the Lord, who hath not given us a Prey to their Teeth, our Soul is escaped, as a Bird out of the Snare of the Fowlers, the Snare is broken, and we are escaped*: Let every true Briton, Protestant and Christian own this, and with Hands, Eyes, and Hearts lift up to Heaven, give God the Glory of his own Work: *Hitherto the Lord has helped us!*

But I leave the Reader to such Resentments, as the Nature of the Subject exacts from him: My Province is properly that of an Historian, and therefore Reflections of another Nature must be omitted: I shall only just touch upon some of the more eminent Strokes of Providence in all this Salvation, for assisting the Reader's Gratitude, and this shall be a Conclusion to the whole Discourse. A great deal of Providence was seen when the Work was set on Foot; and God first brought back our Captivity, (I mean at the Re-

formation). It pleased that God *that dwelt between the Cherubims* then to shine forth; and it is evident to a diligent Observer, that there has been τὸ Θεῖον, something divine, eminently so, in our Safety ever since.

The Occasion of the Breach between King Henry VIII. and the Pope, viz. the Divorce, was remarkable, and, no question, may be considered as an Affair under the special Influence of Providence.

First, the Pope grants a Dispensation to the King to marry his Brother's Widow contrary to the Law of God, which he did upon politick Views, thinking thereby to secure the Kings of England most firmly in his Interest, when their very Title to their Crowns depended upon the papal Power; but this *Fetch of carnal Policy* proved his Ruin; for afterwards when the King has Recourse to the same Power to undoe what he had done, and sues for a Divorce, he was under a Necessity of denying him, or disobliging the Emperor, *who* at that Time had him under the Lash, which enraged the King to that Degree, that he resolves to turn his Back on Rome; and thus Providence over-ruled the *Pope's Policy*, and the *King's Passions*, to bring about a *most glorious Revolution*.

And I cannot but reckon it a very *kind and special Providence* that watched over Archbishop Cranmer, the main-Instrument in the Reformation: Gardiner, who was his mortal Enemy, and several more Accomplices with him, often conspired his Destruction, drew up Articles against him, accuse him to the King as the great Cause of *Heresy*, and Patron of *Hereticks*; and, when they thought they had gained their Point, the King himself steps in, and rescues him from Ruin, which he did, Time after Time, to the utter Con-

Confusion of his Enemies; and with such peculiar Marks of Affection and Friendship to the Bishop, that I cannot but look upon it as pure Design of Providence that touched the Heart of the King, and gave him a Favour in his Sight.

Another Instance of Providence favouring the History of Reformation, I will borrow from Dr. *Heylin*, viz. *Reformat.*

‘ That a violent raging Fever in Queen *Mary*’s *sp.* 251.

‘ Days took off such a Number of the Priests, that a Multitude of the Churches were unserved, and no Curates to be got for Money. He adds, God so ordered it, that by the Death of so many of the *present Clergy*, a Door was opened for the preaching of sounder Doctrine, with far less Envy and Displeasure from all Sorts of People than if it had been otherwise; within less than the Space of twelve Months, almost one Half of the *English* Bishops had made void their Sees; which, says he, with the Death of so many Priests in several Places, did much facilitate the Way of the Reformation, that soon followed.’ Thus God was pleased to remove out of the Way, by his own immediate Hand, such as were more like to obstruct his Work, and thereby make Room for others.

Of the like Nature I may reckon the *short Life* of that bloody persecuting Princess Queen *Mary*, and the Preservation of her Sister and Successor Queen *Elizabeth*, notwithstanding the Danger she was in. The Queen had no great Affection for her; she was the *great Hope* of the Reformers, and the *Dread* of the Papists, was imprisoned in the *Tower*, and designed for the Scaffold; and yet Providence prevents the Mischief, by stirring up King *Philip*, Queen *Mary*’s Husband, to intercede for her, which he did, tho’ it is thought there was more of a politick Interest in it than Tenderness to the Life of that Princess.

I will

Hist. Pt. I will add one Example more, to the same
 3. P. 291. Purpose, out of the late pious Bishop of *Sarum*
 (ὁ μακάριος) 'When the Light seemed almost ex-
 'tinguished in one Place, it broke out in another,
 'by which it was still kept shining somewhere;
 'so there was a Sanctuary opened, to which those
 'who were forced to fly from one Place, might
 'in their Flight find a Covert in another from the
 'Storm. In the Beginning of K. *Edward's* Reign,
 'by the breaking off the *Smalcadick League*, by
 'the taking of the Elector of *Saxony*, and the
 'Landgrave of *Hess*, and by the *Interim*, the Re-
 'formation seemed to be almost extinguished in
 'Germany. In this Church, it was at that Time
 'advanced, and we kindly received those that
 'were forced to fly hither for Shelter. And now
 'in the Year before the Death of this King, there
 'was not only a Revival, but a lasting Settlement
 'procured in *Germany* to the Reformation there,
 'so that those who fled from hence, found a safe
 'and kind Harbour in all Places of the Empire;
 'upon which he makes this Reflection, *That the*
 '*Reformation was under a kind and watchful*
 '*Providence.*'

How much the same *Providence* was concern-
 ed in conducting his Church and People, thro'
 all the Dangers of Queen *Elizabeth's* and King
James's, and the two *Charles's* Reigns, may in
 Part be inferred from the foregoing Account. A-
 mong other signal Instances, the Defeat of the
Powder-Plot, the *Spanish Invasion*, the Marriage
 of a Daughter of King *James II.* to the Prince
 of *Orange*, and *Revolution* of 1688. ought never
 to be forgotten; and still *Providence* seems to
 follow us with the like Sovereignty and Grace;
 witness this last great *Deliverance*, in which the
 Displays of a divine Hand are almost as sensible,
 as if the Stars in their Course had fought against
 our

our Enemies, or Hezekiah's Angel had been sent to destroy them. The seasonable Accession of his present Majesty to the Throne, which was as Life from the Dead. The Removal of the *French King* (the breaking that Rod of God's Anger) at *so critical a Moment*: The Disappointment at *Dumblain*, where the Rebel's General stood peeping over the Brow of an Hill, having neither Courage to pursue his Advantage, nor renew the Battle: The Flight of the *Northumbrians*, before a few Troops harrassed by long and hasty Marches, till they were surrounded at *Preston*, and all made Prisoners at once.

These are such evident Tokens of the *Finger of God* as cannot be denied, and must not be overlooked. They show the tender Regard Providence has to our Welfare, and manifest a Care superior to that which minds the falling Sparrow: And may our great Deliverer strengthen and perfect his own Work: May the same Sovereign Providence that has done so much for us, yet protect us, be a Defence upon all our Glory: And as *David* prayed for *Solomon*; May thy Judg-*Psal. lxxii* ments, O God, be given to the King, thy Righteousness to the King's Son: May he judge the People with Righteousness, and break in Pieces the Oppressor. In his Days may the Righteous flourish, and Abundance of Peace, as long as the Sun and Moon endure: May all his Subjects bow before him, and his Enemies lick the Dust. And now blessed be the Lord God, the God of Israel, who only doth wondrous Things: And blessed be his glorious Name for ever. And let the whole Earth be filled with his Glory; Amen and Amen.

F I N I S.



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